

Brit. 382

BRIEF MEMOIRS
OF
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
HENRY ADDINGTON'S
ADMINISTRATION,
THROUGH THE FIRST FIFTEEN MONTHS
FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT.

Quorum Pars Magna fuit. VIRG.

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HENRY ADDINGTON

WADSWORTH

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P R E F A C E.

WHEN from his high office in the administration of public affairs; an administration, which had been long continued and signally marked; which had been ably conducted and faithfully discharged; the right honourable William Pitt had determined to retire by voluntary resignation; it became His MAJESTY, in that paternal solicitude with which He is ever anxious for the welfare of His people, to provide a successor in that department of the State. In making His choice on this momentous occasion, His MAJESTY was to be guided by deliberate and mature consideration of the peculiar circumstances then existing in the Country. National business, domestic and foreign, was accumulated,
a 2 multifarious,

multifarious, and complex. Parties, in the two houses of parliament and in the imperial dominions, were widely disunited by difference of opinions, and were warm in maintaining each its own sentiments. On the question of "peace," or "war," it was generally supposed there had not of late prevailed unanimity in the cabinet. The nation, though it saw indeed no prospect of attaining the one, yet it judged the season was now arrived for terminating the other, if that measure could be effected by a negotiation on moderate and fair terms. In such a situation of affairs, it was highly expedient that the new Minister, whoever he might be, should be a man of understanding, clear and perspicacious; of information, enlarged and general; of habits, industrious and attentive; of disposition, inclined to conciliate; of experience in political concerns and in mankind, collected through many years of accurate observation; of insight into the causes and acquaintance with the conduct of the war, complete and perfect; of principles,

principles, upright and honourable; of attachment to the British constitution, tried, unshaken, ardent, zealous; of resolution, originating in conviction of what is right, and in determination to follow it so far as might be practicable; yet tempered with such prudence as to discern where departure from previously formed judgment might not only be allowable, but even salutary. Such was the Minister the times required. His MAJESTY was graciously pleased to appoint the right honourable Henry Addington Chancellor of the Exchequer and first Lord of the Treasury. So dignified already was the situation of Mr. Addington as Speaker of the House of Commons, that he must of necessity make prodigious sacrifices to a sense of duty, if he accepted the appointment. Those sacrifices however he did make; and in the high spirit of a man disposed in the hour of danger to serve his KING and COUNTRY in any capacity, where his talents could be useful, he obeyed the commands of his Sovereign.

“ The office of prime Minister (says Sully,
B. 10.)

B. 10.) though at all times laborious, is not always loaded with difficulties: and the good fortune of those is to be envied, who are called to it at a conjuncture, when the whole stream of affairs having for many years run on in a calm and regular course, they have nothing to do but sit quietly at the helm, and content themselves with a general inspection." That Mr. Addington was not called at such a conjuncture, and that his change in official duties was not enviable, are truths which admit not of a question. Whether he has, or has not, proved himself a minister of that description which the critical æra demanded, every one will be enabled to decide for himself, who will patiently and impartially retrace the Months comprehended in these MEMOIRS.

With respect to the MEMOIRS themselves, and the nature of them, let thus much be premised:

They were begun in the Spring of the year eighteen hundred and one. They are regularly continued from that commencement, to their
final

final conclusion. They profess nothing more than to register, and that frequently in the very words of the most respectable public papers, facts of general notoriety and universal credit throughout the nation. The circumstances, however, which they do relate, were all recorded while still recent. The remarks also, occasionally interspersed, are those, which suggested themselves, either at the very times when the several occurrences successively and respectively happened; or at periods, which if subsequent, were yet not distant from them any long interval. In all their parts, therefore, these MEMOIRS are contemporary with the persons concerned, and the affairs transacted. On that account, perhaps, they may be serviceable to the future historian.

MR. ADDINGTON'S
ADMINISTRATION.

1801.

SATURDAY, March 14.—Mr. Addington received the seals of office, as chancellor of the exchequer, and first lord of the treasury.

Monday, March 23.—Mr. Addington took his oaths, and seat, in the house of commons.

Wednesday, March 25.—Mr. Addington made his first speech "*ex officio*." The question before the house was, an "Enquiry into the state of the nation," moved by Mr. Grey; but negatived by a majority of 186 against it. Mr. Addington, in a concise address to the house, intimated the reasons which had induced him to accept his present appointment; the probability there was of settling matters with the Northern Powers; his disposition for peace; his love of toleration. The speech was precisely what it ought to be, on such an occasion, modest, but yet firm; brief, but yet comprehensive.

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Tuesday,

Tuesday, April 14.—Mr. Pelham moved for a renewal of the bill, which suspended the *Habeas Corpus* act. The chancellor of the exchequer, in supporting the motion, confuted all objections. The bill was read a third time, and passed, by a great majority.

Wednesday, April 15.—An extraordinary gazette announced Lord Nelson's victory over the Danes, in the bason of Copenhagen. This enterprise, conducted as it was with intrepid boldness, calm perseverance, and discerning policy, adds accumulated glory to the name of this commander, who before was rendered ever memorable by the daring, well-concerted, and successful battle at the Nile.

On the same day, the minister moved for the sedition bills to be renewed.

Thursday, April 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer made a motion for the thanks of the house to Sir Hyde Parker, Lord Nelson, and others, concerned in the expedition against the Danes. He accompanied his motion with a very impressive speech; generously commending Prince Ferdinand of Denmark; and declaring, that as the reverse should not have depressed, so neither should this success immoderately elate his Majesty's ministers; but that the victory should
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be turned, as it ought to be, to the purposes of peace.—This speech gave universal satisfaction throughout the country.

Wednesday, May 6.—The chancellor of the exchequer introduced a bill for rendering deacons and priests ineligible to parliament. The Clergy in general approved of this bill. Not that they were indifferent to their just, ancient, and constitutional claim, of being represented in parliament by their bishops; as for centuries they have been, and as every friend to national morals, religion, learning, science, good government, and truly British constitution, hopes for centuries they will be. But they did not think the sacred ministry should either be lightly assumed, or lightly relinquished: they did not conceive parliamentary compatible with parochial duties: more particularly they did not wish to see their Order engaged in the cabals, intrigues, tumults, and inordinate practices, which attend popular elections; and which confessedly do not correspond with the clerical character. The matter was seen in this light by the Clergy. By the Public, the chancellor of the exchequer was thought to have acted with liberality and dignity, in not immediately excluding Mr. H. Tooke, the gentleman on whose appearance in parliament the question of

eligibility was first moved; but rather in placing the abstract question on broad principles, and making the bill begin its operation with the new parliament, whenever convened.

Monday, May 18.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved an address to his Majesty, that a monument might be erected in St. Paul's church, to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and of the event "which (said Mr. A.) deprived his country of the services of a man, who never drew his sword to destroy or subdue; but to save, to restore, to establish." This gallant veteran closed a long life of glory on the 28th of February, in consequence of a wound, received on the 21st, in a most severe battle fought in Egypt.

Monday, June 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved resolutions on a finance statement; previously to which he spake with great ability on the condition of our finances, and particularly on the wisdom and salutary effects of the income tax. His idea was, "that with steadiness, fortitude, and prudence, all our difficulties might be surmounted." He owned, he could not look at the finances without seriousness; but he also confessed, that the more minutely he examined them, the greater was his confidence.

Thursday, July 2.—By commission, the parliament

ment was prorogued. His Majesty's speech, delivered by the lord chancellor, was prudent in choice of topic; moderate in expressing the end to which our great successes should lead, viz.—the attainment of peace; and firm in its confidence that we should continue to make necessary sacrifices and exert vigorous efforts, if the enemy's exorbitant demands should preclude peace.

Saturday, July 11.—A convention, between Lord St. Helen's on our part, and Count Panin on behalf of Russia, was announced by Lord Hawkebury, in a letter to the Lord Mayor of London.

Monday, August 3.—A gazette extraordinary announced a splendid and gallant victory gained by Sir James Saumarez, with five sail of the line, against a combined fleet of France and Spain, consisting of ten sail of the line. The action was near Gibraltar; or at least in the Straits.

Sunday, August 23.—A gazette extraordinary announced the capitulation of the French army at Cairo, to General Hutchinson's forces.

Friday, Sept. 25.—Letters were received from General Hutchinson. They stated, that the French army, which embarked for France at Rosetta, after the surrender of Cairo, amounted to 12,700 men.

Thursday, Oct. 1.—Preliminaries of peace between England and France were, on the evening of this day, signed by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto.

So unexpected was this intelligence, of an event most deeply interesting and most ardently desired, that it occasioned universally an extravagant and inexpressible joy. It was matter of perfect astonishment that the negociation should have been conducted with such inviolable secrecy and unremitting perseverance; a circumstance, which reflected the highest credit on the honour, address, and attention of government.

Friday, Oct. 2.—Dispatches were received by Lord Hawkesbury, forwarded from Lord Elgin at Constantinople. They communicated intelligence from General Hutchinson, that on August 26, Menou offered to capitulate for the town and forts of Alexandria.

Saturday, Oct. 10.—An extraordinary gazette informed the public, that the ratifications of the preliminary articles of peace between his Majesty and the French Republic, signed on the 1st instant, were on that day (i. e. Oct. 10.) exchanged by Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto.

Thursday, October 22.—The capitulation of Alexandria

Alexandria was published in a gazette extraordinary.

Thursday, October 29.—His Majesty opened the session of parliament with a speech from the throne. In the house of lords, Lord Bolton moved, and Lord Lilford seconded; in the house of commons, Lord Lovaine moved, and Colonel Wodehouse seconded, the address. Some expressions of disapprobation respecting the terms of peace having fallen from Mr. Wyndham, a reply was made by Mr. Addington, who stated the impropriety of premature discussion on the preliminaries; disclaimed all imputations of necessity which compelled the nation to make peace; but asserted the advising of peace to be a duty owing to their constituents, country, and Sovereign. Mr. A. acquitted himself admirably in this speech, which he delivered with much spirit and energy.

Thursday, October 29.—By the especial recommendation of the minister, the Marquis Cornwallis is nominated as plenipotentiary to negotiate the definitive treaty at Amiens. The most happy consequences may be expected to result from the appointment of this nobleman; who as he has eminently signalized himself by the military virtues, which form the consummate general, so he is highly distinguished for that experience, judgment,

ment, prudence, moderation, firmness, and integrity, which constitute the accomplished statesman. His life has been devoted to public service. If in this, as in many other concerns of vast magnitude, he proves successful, there will be few persons to whom the country will owe more gratitude.

Tuesday, Nov. 3.—The preliminaries of the peace were debated. An address of thanks to his Majesty, expressing approbation of the preliminaries, was voted; by the lords, on a division, 104 majority against 10 minority; by the commons, without a division.

Wednesday, Nov. 4.—The report of the Committee of address was brought up. The address had been moved by Sir W. Harthup; and seconded by Mr. Lee on the preceding day. The minister's speech combated the various objections to the preliminaries, with great dexterity and force; and concluded with much animation. The address was carried without a division.

Wednesday, Nov. 11.—Outstanding exchequer-bills, to the amount of £. 8,500,000. were proposed to be funded, according to terms settled by the chancellor of the exchequer and a committee of exchequer-bill holders.

Thursday, Nov. 12.—The chancellor of the
exchequer

exchequer moved that "The thanks of the house should be given to the army of Egypt." He expatiated on the courage, judgment, skill, and high qualities, exhibited by those forces, in the most animated terms. He spoke of the termination of war in these words; "The contest has now closed; the sword is sheathed in its scabbard; and God grant it may be so for ever! But if at any future time it should be necessary to draw it again, in order to preserve the honour, interests, and security of the empire; the zeal, intrepidity, and patriotism, which had uniformly characterized the British soldiery, would derive additional animation and spirit from a recollection of the glories of the army of Egypt." The motion, which was made in terms most impressive and affecting, was received with the strongest marks of feeling, and with the unanimous approbation of the house.

Friday, Nov. 13.—The convention between his Majesty and the Emperor of Russia was taken into consideration. It was proved, that the convention had secured to this country two points most essential to our safety, viz. that free bottoms do not make free goods; and that neutral bottoms shall not carry the goods of the enemy. Secured also was the right of search, that main support

support of maritime strength. Both lords and commons voted an address, without a division.

Monday, Nov. 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer, in a long speech abounding with matter of finance, stated to the house the terms, on which he proposed funding the eight millions of outstanding exchequer-bills. Much ability appeared in this speech. The terms of his bargain were confirmed by the house, without a division.

Friday, Nov. 20.—In a committee of supply, Mr. Addington proposed the amendment of £.12,000. for secret service money, instead of the £.35,000. which had been voted by a former resolution. This proof of his attention to œconomy in matters of finance was complimented, as indeed it deserved to be, by Mr. Ellison; and Sir John Parnell spoke in praise of ministry.

Monday, Nov. 23.—The chancellor of the exchequer informed the house he had employed much pains on examining the expences of the civil list for the last fifteen years; and that he was happy in stating, from his own knowledge, that the utmost œconomy had been observed, consistent with the nature of the expenditure. He intimated that the civil list was now inadequate
to

to its exigencies, and that he should soon refer to a committee of the house, the subject of encreasing it. He lamented the distress incurred by those, who were entitled to remunerations from that list, which however it had not been able to discharge.

Tuesday, Nov. 24.—Mr. Addington supported a resolution for opening the distilleries. He obviated the objection, which prejudice had made to the measure, in its apprehension that the resolution would operate, and had already operated, in such manner, as to raise the price of corn. He observed, that the distillation of wheat was prohibited under severe penalties; that the effect of free work in the distilleries would be to lower the price of meat, a circumstance which would more than counterbalance any rise of corn that could ensue on account of the distilleries: he added also, that as the distilleries in Ireland were opened, the English dealer would labour under disadvantages, and an illicit trade in spirits would prevail, unless the distilleries in England were opened also.

Wednesday, Nov. 25.—Mr. Newbolt moved for the second reading of his bill, which was, “For enabling overseers to relieve the necessitous, without compelling them to wear badges,” and, “For indemnifying

indemnifying those overseers, who had relieved the necessitous, and had not directed that such badges should be worn." With equal earnestness and humanity, Mr. Addington expressed his astonishment that any objection could be made to the principle of this bill, which was simply this: "Whether the act of relieving the necessitous poor should subject the overseers to penalties, because, in so doing, they had not affixed the badge of turpitude and shame, he would not say to a deed of charity, but of absolute justice." He said, he reflected with exultation and with pleasure on the excellent demeanour of the poor under the most severe trials and difficulties: and he wished the bill to pass with the utmost rapidity, even beyond what the forms of the house usually allow.

On the same day, in a long speech of business and information respecting the facility of private trade to the East Indies, Mr. Addington gave Sir W. Pulteney and the house to understand that, to the end of 1803 provision had been made for such facility; and that before 1804 some plan would be adopted by government and the directors of the East India company.

Friday, Nov. 27.—In farther support of Mr. Newbolt's bill, the chancellor of the exchequer
begged

begged gentlemen to consider the question well. "All, who knew the feelings of humanity, must be aware of the effects likely to arise from a sense of humiliation; the degradation of morals too generally followed. When men felt themselves depressed and sunk below their proper level, they speedily became bad subjects, bad neighbours, bad husbands, and bad fathers; they absented themselves from the house of God's worship, because they were ashamed to expose their fallen state, to exhibit the badge of poverty. It had therefore ever been the policy of wise legislatures to cherish that independence of mind, which was the source and support of every just and manly sentiment. It had been too often the fact, and it was melancholy to observe during the late scarcity, that the industrious poor man, however hard he laboured, unable to purchase the apparel he was accustomed to wear, shrunk from his former connections, and declining his attendance at church, became liable to the extreme of depravity."

Monday, Nov. 30.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that a loan of five millions should be granted his Majesty, to be raised by exchequer bills. He defended the measure against Mr. Robson's objection, by saying, "that in fact it was nothing more than an issue of fresh bills,
in

in the place of those which had been funded, according to a late vote of that house."

Monday, Dec. 1.—On the second reading of Mr. Alderman Curtis's bill, for repealing the acts of 37th and 38th of his present Majesty, relative to the assize of bread; the chancellor of the exchequer supported the bill, observing, that the mode of regulating the price of bread by the price of meal and flour, however plausible in theory, had been found disadvantageous in practice. By the late acts, the baker had no interest in beating down the price of the mealman: on the contrary, it was often his interest to keep up the price, as his own charge to his customers would be high in proportion. The present bill went to destroy such combination between bakers and mealmen, as might keep up the price. It went also to take from the magistrate the power of fixing the baker's profit. "He would not leave bakers at the will even of the chief magistrate of London. The benevolence of his mind, and his tenderness for the sufferings of the multitude, might lead him astray; and induce him to fancy there was extortion, when in fact there existed none; and to cut short the fair profits of those, who supplied the most pressing want of the people. In the late scarcity, it was necessary

sary that the magistrate should fix the price, for the security of the bakers against the discontent of those, who, without considering the cause, murmured at the high price which the baker was compelled by the circumstances of the times to demand for the sale of his bread: but now, as we were prepared for a more enlarged system, he was for a total repeal of the assize on bread."

Friday, Dec. 4.—Mr. Nicholas Vansittart having moved for leave to bring in a bill to prohibit the distillation of spirits in Ireland from wheat only; and Sir J. Parnell (who died on the Monday following!) and Mr. Wilberforce also, having expressed their wish that the prohibition should be extended to the distillation of spirits from oats likewise; the chancellor of the exchequer observed, that their arguments operated against the distilleries from grain altogether. But he had heard nothing, which could *now* justify restrictions laid on distillation from grain, though the circumstances of scarcity in the last year might excuse them. He said, he would not then enter into an enquiry concerning the cause of that scarcity; but he contended it should not have excited so much surprise, when the increased population of the country which had so materially advanced within the last twenty years, was considered, comparatively

tively with its produce: and when it was also recollected, that the distractions on the continent had given to this country the monopoly of the trade of Europe; and the chief capital of the empire was encouraged to engage in commerce, and among other articles to speculate in corn. It must be taken into account, in addition to these causes, that this country received some accession to its inhabitants by emigrations from the continent. It was impossible, therefore, that the produce of the nation could meet this increased consumption of commerce and population. The slow effects of agriculture could not accommodate itself to a demand so suddenly created, and which must have been materially augmented by the capacity the mechanical classes derived, from the advance of their wages, to increase their consumption of provisions. When even that scarcity so severely pressed upon the country, the house with reluctance resorted to the measure of bounties; and they acted wisely, rather to let things go almost to extremity, than encourage the people to look to any other resources than their own agriculture and industry; rather to try their patience and fortitude to endure distress for a short season, in order to turn their attention to the means of preventing, and to urge their best exertions for

for obviating, if possible, the recurrence of similar difficulties in future. The policy of our ancestors had been to encourage importation of corn by bounties; but our policy was happily that, which, by tending to encrease our own resources, more effectually secured us against want; and he hoped the country would persevere in that system; for the less we were dependent on other nations for our supply, the less we had to apprehend.

The application intended in these reflexions of sound policy, was obviously this; that, as the time of scarcity was passed, the number of foreigners diminished, the causes of encreased consumption much removed, internal agriculture most vigorously pursued, and the wisdom of encouraging our own husbandmen in raising due supplies of necessary corn was now thoroughly understood; the use of barley in distilleries would be less detrimental, and consequently restrictions on distilleries would be less justifiable now, than at a late period.

He repeated his arguments used on Nov. 24, asserting that the rise on corn, in consequence of the distilleries being open, would bear no proportion to the fall of butcher's meat, which would be occasioned by the number of

hogs that would be fattened from the distilleries. At least 40,000 annually. He again urged gentlemen to consider the injury, which would be sustained by the English distiller, if distilleries were open in Ireland, but shut in England; adding, it was not fit to treat with so much injustice, men of great capital (as the distillers were) and who contributed so largely to the public revenue; nor was it wise to weaken their confidence in the steadiness, candour, and consistency of the legislature. Such conduct would be calculated to induce many of them to withdraw their capital from the business altogether. Nothing but imperious necessity should urge the parliament in any case to overlook the interest of such persons.

Monday, Dec. 14.—Petitions against opening the distilleries were taken into consideration. Mr. Burton, representative of the city of Oxford, spoke in support of a petition from that city. The ground of the petition was, an apprehension that the price of corn in general would immediately rise; and indeed that barley had already risen, in consequence of the resolutions which parliament had adopted, for opening the distilleries. The chancellor of the exchequer, having first corrected a mistake, into which Mr. Wilberforce

force had been led, with regard to the small deficiency occasioned to the revenue by stopping the distilleries; and having stated that 400,000 *l.* was the actual loss sustained; he admitted, that the petitions on the table merited consideration. "The lords of the treasury had received no less than fifty others, to the same effect: but what would the house think, when he assured them, that most of those petitions came from places, in which clandestine distilleries were carried on to a most astonishing effect? In one alone of which, no less than ten were recently discovered; for the suppression of which, the military aid was required to assist the civil power; both which however, though combined, were ineffectual, as they were resisted by a band of more than fifty armed smugglers."

He then adverted to what had been said on the rise of barley, in consequence of an expectation that the distilleries would be opened. By an induction of particulars, among which was this striking fact, viz. that barley on Nov. 2, was higher than on the very day they were then debating about the distilleries, he proved that if barley should rise, yet the cause of such advanced price was not to be imputed to opening the distilleries. His next argument turned on what

he had remarked in a former debate, viz. that the encreased quantity of hogs, which would reduce the price of butcher's meat, would more than countervail any advance of price that could be made on corn, from the operation of distilleries.

The question for opening the distilleries was carried by a majority of 62.

Monday, Dec. 28.—The chancellor of the exchequer expressed his concern, that he was under the necessity of moving for only a short adjournment: but he consoled himself by his confidence that gentlemen were persuaded some prudential motives alone induced him to name so short a period as Monday, Jan. 4, for their next meeting.

Mr. Thomas Grenville questioned the chancellor of the exchequer on the sailing of a large fleet from Brest; and expressed his fears, that the proceedings in the definitive treaty between this country and France, now pending, would be materially affected by it.

The chancellor of the exchequer replied,—
“Whether any communications had passed on the subject between his Majesty's ministers, and the government of France, it was not proper for him to state. Whether due precautions had been taken to guard against, what indeed was not likely to happen, but what however there was a possibility

possibility that it could happen, the house would not then call on him to declare." He assured the house, the sailing of that armament would not in the least degree interfere with the negotiations at Amiens, or weaken the energy of lord Cornwallis's language in the necessary terms to be proposed. He intimated also, that the shortness of their adjournment had no more connexion with the Brest fleet, than the Brest fleet with their adjournment.

1802.

Saturday, Jan. 2.—The Monthly Agricultural Report stated, that grain was somewhat on the advance, assigning as a reason for it, "probably in a great measure from the distilleries being allowed to work again." Neither the fact, nor the reason appear to be accurate. For, whereas on Nov. 2, barley was from 46s. to 49s.; and on Dec. 14, at 48s.; the agricultural report itself states it to be at 44s. 1d. If this report, which is for December, takes the average of that month, it is evident the chancellor of the exchequer argued on good grounds, when he denied that the opening of the distilleries would operate to the rise of barley.

Monday, Jan. 4.—On the subject of adjournment,

ment, the chancellor of the exchequer addressed the house in words to this effect: "On each of the late occasions, on which I moved an adjournment of the house, I felt myself impelled by paramount considerations, to propose an adjournment for a very short and limited period. I have however the satisfaction of informing the house, that the force of those considerations is so much diminished, that I am confident I shall not have occasion for resorting to a similar measure, after the day to which it is now my intention to move an adjournment. The reason, which induced me to address you on former occasions, I hope I shall never be under the necessity of detailing to the house. Under this conviction, I move, that the house at its rising do adjourn till Thursday se'n- night; and I feel bold to add, that, on its meeting again, I shall be enabled to propose an adjournment for the recess to the extent of time originally intended."

The motion was put, and agreed to.

It is now well known, that the mutiny, which lately broke out in admiral Campbell's ship, "the *Temeraire*," at Bantry Bay, has been the occasion, which required the sitting of parliament at this unusual season of the year.

Let us hope this will be the last instance of
jacobinism,

jacobinism, that dire spirit, which in its principles and practice, goes to the utter extinction of human society.

Wednesday, Jan. 6.—The trial of fourteen prisoners, seamen belonging to “the Temeraire,” for mutiny, commenced at Portsmouth, on board “the Gladiator.” The examination of witnesses continued three days. On the fourth day the prisoners gave in their defence. On the fifth, thirteen were condemned to suffer death, and one to receive 200 lashes.

In the course of evidence, it was stated, that admiral Campbell came out and asked captain Eyles “What was the matter?”—The captain told him, the ship’s company wanted to know where the ship was going? The admiral answered, “To hell, if she is ordered, and we must go with her.”

It were to be wished some other place had occurred to his mind: but yet we cannot help admiring the sense of discipline and obedience, which the brave and determined commander meant to express and enforce.

Tuesday, Jan. 14.—The house met, and the chancellor of the exchequer again moved for a short adjournment, having introduced his motion in a

short speech to this effect: "I am persuaded the house will do me the justice to admit, that it has been with considerable anxiety and concern I have moved several adjournments, productive of great inconvenience to its members. I am also persuaded the house will allow, I must have felt extreme difficulty and concern in withholding from it the motives of these short adjournments. Upon the several occasions on which I proposed them, I stated, there appeared to me sufficient grounds to warrant such proceeding; but I hoped I should not be called on to detail them. The house did not call on me for any explanation, and I am thankful to it for this mark of confidence, and for giving me credit for the motives. The house has exercised its accustomed wisdom and discretion in not pressing for a disclosure of them. Under the circumstances, which operated on my mind, at the times I proposed those adjournments, there appeared to me no alternative, as I saw nothing to justify an opposite conduct. Those circumstances are since so changed, that I have a doubt on my mind how far they should now produce similar effects: but in my opinion, to doubt, in such a case, is to decide. I shall be always anxious to have the advantage and assistance of the wisdom and deliberation

beration of this house: but I am convinced such a reference will not be necessary upon the subject of these short adjournments. The bare possibility, however, of such an event is, in my mind, sufficient inducement for making the motion I have prepared. It is, "that this house do, at its rising, adjourn to Tuesday next."

The motion was put, and carried.

On this same day, the court-martial re-assembled at Portsmouth, and after hearing charges, and defence, declared six mutineers guilty; on five of whom was pronounced the sentence of death; and one was condemned to receive 200 lashes.

Friday, Jan. 15.—The six mutineers, belonging to the *Temeraire*, on whom the sentence of death had been passed, were executed.

Tuesday, Jan. 19.—Having previously stated, that the causes, which had before induced him to move for short adjournments, were now completely removed; and having expressed some anxiety, that without the slightest foundation on any words which had fallen from himself, there had nevertheless been raised an expectation that he would now explain motives, which, though known privately to individuals, ought not in prudence, propriety, and delicacy to be made the subjects of formal disclosure to the House;
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the chancellor of the exchequer moved that the house should, at its rising, adjourn to Tuesday, February the second.

After some debate, in which Mr. Elliot required from the minister some communication respecting the important subjects now pending, and in which Dr. Lawrence moved for an adjournment only to Tuesday next; replies having been made by lord Hawkesbury and the attorney general; the minister's motion was put, and carried without a division.

Tuesday, Jan. 19.—The five mutineers of the *Temeraire*, on whom the sentence of death had been passed by the court-martial, were executed at Spithead.

It is impossible not to join in the public prayer, that this may be the last instance of a factious and turbulent spirit, which, by resisting compliance with due subordination, and by opposing legitimate and necessary commands, confounds all regularity, subverts discipline, and renders strength rather an engine of self-destruction, than a power formidable to an enemy. In suppressing this spirit, the ministry have acted with laudable vigour: and, however painful may be the execution of so many pitiable and unhappy sufferers, yet this seasonable enforcing of vindictive justice, has probably preserved

served the lives of hundreds; so that apparent severity, on such an occasion, is in effect the most real and substantial mercy, as the preservation of a larger number is an object, in the view of humanity, much more to be regarded, than the merited suffering of a number far inferior. Mutiny and rebellion are of a tendency so dangerous, that, to prevent contamination, prudence suggests the instantaneous application of the most effectual remedy.

Of approved abilities and known patriotism was he, who in his speech on the mutiny bill introduced this passage:

“ Liberty and discipline; liberty and government, are much nearer allied, and much more compatible the one with the other (whatever some may think) than liberty and licentiousness. Look into history, and you will find it universally true, that the freest states have been strictest in their military discipline; and the best men in those states have always exacted it with the greatest severity. Good laws, says Machiavel, must be maintained by good arms; and good arms by good discipline. It is a very just maxim, which no government should forget. Late experience has shewn us, that if we had not had good arms and good discipline, our good laws would have

have been lost. The maintaining this discipline, the not suffering it to be relaxed in time of peace, is essentially necessary to the safety of the whole constitution; and they who are friends to the one will be friends to the other."—Lord Littleton's Works, ed. 8vo. 1776, vol. iii. p. 27.

Never to be forgotten is the patriotic conduct of Mr. Sheridan, at a season, than which the nation has seen few more awful. When the Mutiny at the Nore, in 1797, was become most seriously alarming, he nobly rose superior to the bigotry and selfishness of party-consideration; and by his speech on the occasion, delivered in the house of commons, contributed in no small degree to excite despair in the minds of those audacious and unparalleled offenders.

On Thursday Jan. 28.—A colonel in the army was executed at the front of Newgate, pursuant to the sentence pronounced on him at the Old Bailey. He was there tried for having caused the death of a serjeant, by ordering 800 lashes to be inflicted on him with a rope, at Goree, of which island the colonel was lieutenant-governor. The fatal punishment was inflicted on the serjeant so far back as the year 1782. The author of it was apprehended in 1784, March 8th, but eluded the vigilance

vigilance of the King's messengers, by escaping from them at Reading. He lived in a state of exile from that period till October 1801, at which time he returned to England, and surrendered himself for trial.

That a person high in command should thus signally have suffered punishment by death, so immediately after the execution of the mutineers, is a striking occurrence; and in the strongest manner shews the equality of our national justice, and the impartiality of our laws. The unhappy colonel was by marriage connected with peers of the realm. But our laws prohibit violation of rectitude in persons of ALL descriptions, without respect either to family or fortune, to rank or authority. Add this is the very essence of true liberty in our own or in any constitution of civil government, that it should contain in its vital principles, and actually carry into effect in its uniform and daily practice, "*Imperia LEGUM*" "*potentiora quàm hominum*," Liv. 2.

Tuesday, Feb. 2d.—According to the time appointed at the last adjournment, the imperial parliament met again this day. To some inquiries made by Mr. Canning, respecting the sale of crown lands in the Caribbee Islands, and

the application of the purchase-money thence arising, to the liquidation of the civil-list arrears, as had been proposed :

The chancellor of the Exchequer replied, his idea of selling crown lands, for the purpose of liquidating civil-list arrears, was not confined to the Caribbee Islands.

Friday, Feb. 5.—The chancellor of the Exchequer having caused printed statements to be previously dispersed among the members of the house, referred to those statements, when he observed, the house was in possession of the manner, in which the sum of £.2,500,000, granted last session for the extraordinaries of the army, had been employed ; and also was made acquainted with the particular services, on which £,2,000,000, raised in pursuance of a vote of credit, had been expended. In addition to these accounts, his Majesty had thought proper to lay before the house an account of the excess for extraordinaries of the army. He explained the causes of such excess ; among which, the protraction of the war in Egypt beyond the expectation of the most experienced persons, was a principal cause ; since no less a sum than £.1,540,000 had been drawn for on that account, during the spring, summer, and autumn of the last year. He intimated also,
That

That the bills drawn on account of the West Indies, exceeded what had been calculated sufficient for the West India service, by the sum of £.500.000; an excess so very considerable, that commissioners were going out to that quarter, for the purpose of visiting every island, and of minutely investigating the several accounts, and the facts on which they were founded. He next stated the amount of the navy debt, and gave the reasons for its large amount. He said it was impossible, under the present circumstances, to ascertain how far it would be prudent to diminish that debt. He proposed, however, a vote for £.2,000,000 for that purpose; and another vote for £.1,847,174, to defray the expences of the army incurred and paid by the pay-master general of the forces in the year 1801.

Mr. Robson having made some remarks, and received answers, assured the committee he was perfectly satisfied with the fairness and candid replies of ministers.

Monday, Feb. 8.—Mr. Martin animadverted on the statements of expenditure distributed on the preceding Friday. He was answered by Mr. Tierney, who said, “The successor of the late minister was, for his conduct, entitled to confidence, and his character was respected by the country.

country. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Addington) had done nothing to justify the slightest jealousy. The paper, which had been the subject of animadversion, had been very satisfactorily explained."

Mr. Nicholls followed Mr. Tierney. He said, "The present chancellor of the exchequer was not responsible for the various expences produced by the late war. That he considered him as the minister of a pacific system, and had observed no one measure of his that merited reprehension."

The chancellor of the exchequer stated, that previously to raising the sums necessary for the supplies of the year, it was incumbent to vote a sum for satisfying the immediate demands of the public service. He therefore moved, "That the sum of 2,100,000*l.* be raised by way of loan on exchequer bills."

Tuesday, Feb. 9.—This day was vacated, by the judicious and merited promotion of Sir John Mitford to the high dignity of lord chancellor of Ireland, the speaker's chair of the house of commons: that chair, which for twelve years Mr. Addington filled, even by the confession of a gentleman who was less favourable to his administration, "with dignity, grace, and rectitude." It might be added too, in the words of the late ingenious,

ingenious, penetrating, and ever to be revered Doctor Warton, "with ability, knowledge, patience, and amiable manners." Warton's note on v. 71. of Donne's Satires versified, in vol. iv. of Warton's Pope, p. 270. ed. 1797.

Actuated by a spirit of noble magnanimity, by a generous concern for public good, and by a deep sense of duty to his Sovereign, the speaker's chair, with all its honours, emoluments, and comparative ease, Mr. Addington unconditionally relinquished, at a period, when Russia, Denmark, and Sweden were confederate against us; when Buonaparte by the terror of his arms had compelled some, and by the stratagems of his policy had induced other nations of Europe to shut us out from their ports, and thus ruin our commerce; at a period, when the aspect of foreign affairs was dark and gloomy, and the state of domestic union much agitated and disturbed. To deliver us from all these complicated and alarming difficulties, was the immediate province of his new official appointment. It must be confessed the undertaking was momentous and arduous: but his exertions for the accomplishment of that interesting purpose have been wisely conceived, and prudently directed: and, by the

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bleffing of Almighty God! on his fincere endeavours, he has reasonable grounds for hoping the time is not far diftant, when he may announce a definitive treaty of peace with all our enemies; whilft at home there happily prevails a general difpofition for tranquillity, fatisfaction, and unanimity.

Wednesday, Feb. 10.—Mr. Abbot was this day chofen fpeaker of the houfe of commons. He was propofed by the mafter of the rolls, Sir William Grant. Mr. Baker feconded the motion. Mr. Sheridan propofed Mr. C. Dundas; and was feconded by lord George Cavendifh. The election of Mr. Abbot was however carried, without a divifion; and the chair filled by a gentleman of induftry, moderation, and great knowledge.

Thursday, Feb. 11.—Mr. Abbot appeared at the bar of the houfe of lords. He addreffed the lords commiffioners, who were appointed to give the royal approbation to his election. In the ufual form of words, he informed them the choice of fpeaker of the houfe of commons had devolved on him. The lord chancellor, as one of the commiffioners, expreffed his majefty's approbation; whereupon Mr. Abbot returned to the houfe of commons, and took the chair accordingly.

Monday,

Monday, Feb. 15.

Message from his MAJESTY.

G. R.

“ His Majesty feels great concern at being under the necessity of acquainting the house of commons, that the provision appointed out of the civil list, for defraying the expences of his household, has been found inadequate to support the same; in consequence of which, certain debts have been unavoidably incurred; an account of which his Majesty has ordered to be laid before his house of commons. His Majesty relies on the zeal and affection of his house of commons, to take the same into consideration, and to adopt such measures as circumstances may require.”

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the message should be referred to a committee of supply. Agreed to nem. con.

Thursday, Feb. 16.—The chancellor of the exchequer laid before the house an account of the civil list expenditures for the last three years, ending the 5th of January. This, with the papers already before the house, would form a regular statement upon that subject, so far back as the year 1786. He moved, that the account should

lie on the table; and gave notice, that on tomorrow he should move for the papers being referred to the consideration of a special committee.

Mr. Sheridan asked Mr. Addington, if it was probable he should have his Majesty's instructions to communicate any thing to the house, on the subject of the rights and claims of his royal highness the Prince of Wales? The chancellor of the exchequer answered, he had no instructions to make any communication on the subject; nor did he think it probable he should.

Wednesday, Feb. 17.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that the several accounts, which he had presented relative to the arrears of the civil list, should be referred to a select committee. He preferred a select committee to that of a committee of supply, in order that the circumstances attached thereto might undergo all that investigation they so properly demanded, and that the public might be made acquainted with the reasons, which caused such an accumulation of debt on the civil list. He wished all circumstances should be investigated, persuaded as he was that upon such investigation the house and the public would rest satisfied, that the causes of accumulation were unavoidable. It would be recollected,

recollected, that sixteen years ago, when the schedule, which limited the amount of the civil list income was fixed, every article of the necessaries, and still more of the luxuries of life, were infinitely below the price at which they have all been since acquired. He would also call to their observation the circumstances in each of their own several domestic concerns; and in their reference, he was convinced they would find the truth of his assertion. He would appeal to their judgments, if that were the case in private life, how much more the proportion must bear where royalty was concerned, and how much more must be the consequent increase of expenditure in his Majesty's civil list establishment." He conceived it would be right that every opportunity should be afforded the house to reflect on the matter; and therefore, an interval as long as circumstances would admit, should be allowed between the report and its consideration. He concluded with moving, "That a select committee be appointed to consider the accounts, which, by his Majesty's commands, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer had presented and delivered in, relative to his Majesty's civil list; and that they should report the same as they shall appear to them, together with their opinions thereon, to that house."

Mr. Sutton Manners requested the attention of the house, to the concerns of his royal highness the Prince of Wales. He stated, that the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall were vested in the Prince of Wales from the moment of his birth. That these revenues were in general allowed to accumulate during his minority, in order to form a fund from which his establishment might be founded, upon his coming of age. With respect to the present Prince of Wales, the usual and accustomed mode of proceeding, he contended, had not been observed: the revenues of his duchy had not been so allowed to accumulate; but they had been applied to the uses of the civil list; and unless such application had been made of them, resources to the same amount, in aid of the civil list, must have been had and voted from the public purse. He concluded with a wish, that his royal highness's rights might be investigated.

Mr. Fox approved of the statement made by Mr. Manners Sutton. He was of opinion, the Prince had considerable claims on the public. He said, he should support the present motion, i. e. the chancellor of the exchequer's, without entering into the subject; but would not have it thence understood, that he gave a momentary approbation.

approbation to the measure of applying to parliament to discharge the arrears of the civil list. His Majesty, he contended, ought not to be permitted to come to parliament, and desire it to make the civil list equal to his expences; but should take care to confine his expences within the limits of the civil list, as established at the commencement of his reign, and which parliament ought not to alter.

Mr. Pitt was of opinion, it became the honour of the house that some proper mode of investigating the claims of his royal highness should be adopted. He entered, however, his protest at once against the doctrine, "that parliament, by granting at the commencement of a reign a civil list establishment, deprives itself of the power of augmenting its amount, if the increased rate of expence, which attaches to the crown as much as to the meanest subject, should require such an augmentation. I never will admit, that parliament can abridge its inherent power of increasing that grant, which is bestowed not more for the gratification of the Sovereign, than for the service of the public; the support of the different departments of state, and the maintenance of that splendour which is not only essential, but is the vital principle inseparably connected

with the existence of a monarchical form of government."

The house agreed to the original motion; and then the chancellor of the exchequer moved, "That the committee to be appointed should consist of twenty-one." To which, when the house agreed also, he proposed twenty; and, on the motion of lord Hawkesbury, the name of the chancellor of the exchequer was added to them.

The report of the committee was ordered to be received to-morrow.

When he remarked that splendour was a vital principle inseparably connected with monarchy, Mr. Pitt spoke the language of that genuine political wisdom, which derives its maxims from long observation on the nature, passions, and prejudices of man.

Whatever be your executive power, you must make it respectable in the sight of the people, or you diminish the force of your laws, and weaken the energy of your government.

Not only Romulus, but the consuls also, discerned the expediency of securing respect by external appearance.

Of the one we read " (Jura) ita sancta generi
hominum

hominum agresti fore ratus, si seipſe venerabilem Inſignibus Imperii feciſſet, quàm cætero habitu ſe auguſtiorẽ, tùm maximè liſtoribus duodecim ſumtis fecit." Liv. i. 8. Of the other, the hiſtorian records, "Omnia jura, omnia inſignia primi conſules tenuere." Ibid. l. 2. 1.

Nor is it ſufficient that you ſecure reſpect by ſtriking terror; you muſt, to lay it on a deeper foundation, enſure and confirm it, by influencing opinion, and by captivating the affections. Neckar, in his "Eſſay on the True Principles of Executive Power," vol. i. p. 368. has a good remark on this ſubject: and Burke, with great force, has combated the cold philoſophiſm, which would ſtrip the throne of every thing conducive to procure attachment. "Reflections on the Revolutions in France," p. 115. ed. 1790.

Thoſe, who eſtimate civil inſtitutions, not according to the benefits they produce in ſociety, but by the ſum of money required to ſupport them, have in their narrow and mercenary conceptions endeavoured to raiſe a prejudice againſt even limited monarchy, by an inſinuation that republican government is cheaper. In answer to this it is well obſerved by Gregory; "The faction, intrigue, and conſequently the bribery prevalent in popular ſtates, may occaſion as lavish
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an expenditure of the public treasure by those in power, as the trappings of royalty." *Essays Historical and Moral* by G. Gregory, p. 186, ed. 1785.

A republic is a "*Bellua multorum capitum*," and the mouth of each head must be supplied, till the throat is filled, and the appetite gorged. It was to this rapacity in republican administrators, each in succession enriching himself at the public expence, that Aristotle alluded; or rather *Æsop*, whose fable of the "*Fox and Hedgehog*" is preserved by Aristotle, in the second of his books on rhetoric, Ch. 21. edit. Goulston. If economical politicians would advert to the multiplied and secret applications of public treasure in republics, they ought even as nice calculators and frugal managers to prefer limited monarchy for its comparative cheapness and open fairness. But how despicable and groveling an idea is it, that by the computation of shillings and pence, should be weighed and valued civil government, of all things (next to religion) the most interesting concern to man!

Monday, Feb. 22.—Intimation was given by Mr. Manners Sutton, that from motives of deference and respect to his Majesty, his royal highness

ness the Prince of Wales desired the consideration of his own claims to the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall might be postponed, till the more serious concerns of the civil list were settled.

Tuesday, Feb. 23.—Dr. Lawrence enquired of the secretary of state, if the report was true, that the convention entered into between Great Britain and Russia had been ratified by Denmark. Lord Hawkesbury replied, it was perfectly true that government had received the formal ratification of Denmark to that convention.

This communication is of material importance to the commercial part of the country. It will remove that suspense which has hitherto retarded the operations of those, who would trade with Denmark.

Friday, Feb. 26.—Government on this day received an official account, that Sweden also had acceded to the northern convention with Great Britain.

Monday, March 1.—Mr. Dickinson gave notice that he should, on Thursday next, move for leave to bring in a bill for continuing and amending the act of last session, respecting the residence of the clergy.

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The act to which Mr. Dickinson alluded, was an act for suspending the operation of the statute of Hen. 8th. c. 21st. which statute has lately been applied as an instrument of extreme oppression. Informers, totally unconnected with the parishes, of which the suffering ministers were rectors, and for the avowed purpose of raising money, have with success prosecuted for non-residence, some whose parsonage houses were undergoing repairs, and therefore not habitable; others who had houses utterly unfit for habitation, but who most conscientiously officiated on every Sunday; and others whom regard for the health of their families obliged to be absent.

The statute is not only cruel, but it is absurd. For although it compels the rector to live in the parsonage house, yet it does not require him to officiate.

It is moreover ineffectual. For on a living of £.600. per ann. and upwards, a rector might say he would rather incur the penalty, than reside in a parish of ill condition; for, he could afford to pay his £.10. per month in each year, and might think this charge more eligible than disquiet from vexatious parishioners.

It is somewhat singular, that in France, Henry the second should have revived a law of Louis the eleventh,

eleventh, not many years after the enacting of our own Henry's statute. "Sancitum et ——— in senatu recitatum est, ut episcopi et curiones assidui ad sua sacerdotia essent, et ipsi de rebus sacris ad populum concionarentur, vel vicarios præberent, qui eorum vicem fungerentur; ni faciant, sacerdotiorum fructibus mulctentur." Thuan. Hist. l. 19. vol. i. p. 666. ed. Buckley. In one respect however, and that of considerable moment, the French law was more indulgent than the English. It allowed substitutes. Our own statute, except in the case of pluralities by dispensation, and other specified instances of exemption, does not give the option either of personal, or vicarious, attendance.

That residence, as a general principle, is pregnant with an infinitude of good consequences, appears obvious to the slightest consideration. But then, like all other general principles, it may admit of very many exceptions, and be modified by a great variety of qualifications. There are many occasions, when a rector can be more usefully employed for the purposes of promoting religion and learning, by residing rather in another, than in his own parish. And there are many occasions, when more essential service can be done by the curate, than by his rector.

Doctor

Doctor Sturges, chancellor of Winchester diocese, has written candidly, and sensibly, on the subject of non-residence. His remarks are particularly valuable, because they result from much knowledge and much experience collected in his official superintendence over the clergy.

Dr. S. is of opinion, that the severity of the law might in very many instances have been fairly mitigated, if in the various prosecutions lately instituted the courts had made a proper discrimination, between that which from the nature of the case and the reason of the thing was unavoidable, and therefore NOT WILFUL absence; and that, which being defensible on no ground either of necessity, expediency, or propriety, was NOT unavoidable, but clearly and palpably in all its circumstances a matter of mere choice, and therefore WILFUL.

A declaratory act, explaining the several and various cases in which ministers shall be considered as NOT WILFULLY absent, and exempting from penalties those who come within such cases, might be so framed as to relieve the clergy; and yet, by permitting the competency for information and prosecution to remain where it already exists, might obviate the difficulty of determining on
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points very material in this business, viz. the persons to whom the clergy shall be amenable; and the controuling power which shall be given to those persons.

Mr. Nicholas Vansittart said, that in the absence of the chancellor of the exchequer, "the cause of which he was sure every gentleman lamented," he rose to give notice, that in the committee of supply on Wednesday next, a motion would be made for a farther issue of exchequer bills, to the amount of one million.

Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, though briefly, yet properly characterized the humanity of a British senate. Domestic indisposition prevented Mr. Addington from attending.

Wednesday, March 3.—Mr. Elliott said, he found much ground for apprehension and alarm, on the retrospect of the events which had happened in succession, since the period at which was signed the preliminary treaty. France had assumed a menacing aspect, which portended danger to all Europe. Buonaparte was invested with the supremacy of the Italian republic, whilst the negotiation between this country and France was still pending.

pending. A very large portion of the French fleet had sailed to the West Indies. He was of opinion, France should be called upon to explain the destination of such a fleet.

Lord Hawkesbury answered, and observed, that the committee must perceive how improper it would be for him to enter at that time into discussion of the points brought forward by Mr. Elliott. Nothing could justify such discussion and interference of the committee, but certain knowledge that the negociation had been protracted to an unusual length of time; and that such consequences had thence arisen as gave parliament a right to call on ministers for an explanation. He readily admitted, that serious inconvenience had indeed ensued from the suspense, in which the public mind had been kept on the important question of "peace, or war." If however gentlemen would but reflect on the great variety of interests involved in the negotiation; if they would but consider the many difficult points to be adjusted; if they would but advert to past experience, and particularly to the circumstances of the last peace, the preliminaries of which were signed on Jan. 20, 1783, but the definitive treaty not till December 3, of the same year; they would

would not think themselves authorized to conclude, that the negotiation had been retarded by improper delay.

Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Wyndham coincided in sentiments with Mr. Elliott.

Lord Castlereagh saw no cause of alarm in the sailing of the French fleet to the West Indies. The forces sent from France were not more than sufficient to re-establish its government in Guadeloupe and St. Domingo; both which islands were distracted by insurrections of the black inhabitants, which were dangerous and formidable to the white. The armament destined to reduce the revolted colonies, was not of a magnitude beyond the obvious necessity of the case.

Mr. Cornwallis observed, it was most probable the French expedition to the West Indies might have in contemplation a fair and legitimate object: if, however, the intentions of the French government were hostile, and the negotiation for peace should terminate unfavourably, yet this country had nothing to apprehend. We had a force in the West Indies more than sufficient for the protection of our islands. We should have the opportunity of fighting and taking the French ships at sea, instead of counting them in their

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harbours. His Majesty's ministers therefore merited applause, for having suffered them to fail.

The chancellor of the exchequer resumed his seat in the house. He rose and observed, that, "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail on other subjects, he was persuaded it would however be generally admitted, that, under the present existing circumstances, it would be extremely inexpedient and ineligible to enter into any contract for the service of the whole year; and that the most desirable method for the supply of present exigencies would be, by a farther issue of exchequer bills. He therefore moved (according to Mr. Vanfittart's notice on Monday, Mar. 1.) "That it is the opinion of the committee, that towards providing for the supply for the service of his Majesty, there should be raised the sum of one million by loan on exchequer bills." Agreed to.

Thursday, March 4.—Mr. Alexander having brought up the report of the committee of supply, and a motion having been put on the charge for the barrack department, Mr. Robson made many remarks on the expences incurred by
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the barrack system, and then spoke to this effect: "Gentlemen may fence themselves round with majorities; but the time will come, when there must be an account given of the public money. The public acceptances have been refused."

Some interruption having been occasioned by Mr. Robson's assertion, at length the speaker suggested the propriety of proceeding to the business of the day. On this the secretary at war accounted for the barrack charges; after which the question was put and carried, and resolution agreed to.

The chancellor of the exchequer then said, the house must be aware there had been but little time for him to investigate the charge made in the statement of the honourable gentleman, in which he alluded to the degraded condition of government credit; but he had just received information from authority on which he could depend, that this proof of insolvency in government was the refusal of payment of a bill, accepted at the sick and hurt office, amounting to the *amazing* sum of £.19. 7s.

Thursday, March 4.—On a question of divorce in the house of peers, lord Auckland said, "Let

any one look to France, and see what were the fruits of that law, which made marriage a civil compact, and put it in the power of parties to be divorced, for so trivial a cause as incompatibility of temper. He would find, that during the last year, upwards of seven hundred divorces "a vinculo matrimonii" took place in Paris and its vicinity."

That, except in the case of adultery, and that which cannot with decency be mentioned, the marriage compact should be of perpetual force, is an obligation resulting from the nature of man, and therefore sanctioned by revealed religion. In weakening the validity of this obligation, the constitution of the French republic acted most cruelly towards the female sex, and fatally for the rising generation. When deprived of that, which is their chief ornament, women have been discarded by capricious husbands: and the children, which shall be the offspring derived from short cohabitation, will be born into the world without any prospect of paternal care.

"That the bond (of marriage) be perpetual, to end only by death," is the position of Hutcheson in his "Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy." (B. 3. c. 1. f. 5. 4.) To the same effect, see Fordyce's

Fordyce's Moral Philosophy, (Sect. 3. c. 2. b. 3.) In exemplifying the sanctity of the Christian law with respect to marriage, Grotius remarks, "Cumque omnis vera amicitia perpetua sit et insolubilis, merito talem eam esse voluit, quæ cum animorum societate corporum quoque continet communionem: quod etiam ad rectam liberorum educationem haud dubio est utilius." (Grot. de Ver. Rel. Christ. B. 2. f. 13.) And that discordancy of temper should not be allowed as a sufficient reason to justify divorce, is observed by Puffendorf, who thus adds; "Cujus, inter alias, etiam hæc ratio est, ne facultas divortii contumaciam morum alat; sed potiùs alterius conditionis desperatio ad commoditatem morum, mutuamque tolerantiam conjuges incitet." (Puffendorf, De officio Hominis, L. 2. c. 2. f. 6.)

Friday, March 5.—A bill was brought in, which Mr. Nicholas Vansittart and lord Hawkesbury supported. The nature of it was this. America, after the conclusion of its war with this country, laid certain duties on British goods imported in foreign ships. Great Britain, in return, laid other duties on American goods, to counterbalance those imposed by America. Through her minister, America had notified her
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intention of taking off those duties. It was therefore expedient to pass an act for granting his Majesty power to suspend the duties here also, according to circumstances. The object of the present Bill was to grant such power.

In his remarks on the bill, which was to be the foundation of an American treaty, Mr. Wyndham wished we should look for support and dignity, rather to our martial spirit and high sense of honour, than to our commercial prosperity.

The chancellor of the Exchequer was thence led to observe, "it appeared of late more fashionable than it should be, to pronounce commercial pursuits incompatible with high sentiments of honour and national glory. But it would be recollected by the house, that such an opinion was erroneous in principle, and false in fact. For, the experience of the last twelve years, in which we had attained to an unprecedented and unrivalled degree of commercial prosperity, and during which the brilliant conduct of our army and navy, sufficiently proved that the most exalted national spirit was not inconsistent with such prosperity; the experience of these facts served to refute and falsify the imputations which, without reason, were thrown out against commerce.

He agreed with Mr. Wyndham, that the power of France was immense. He would assure him, he was far from contemplating that power with indifference. He would not be charged with apathy on that subject. He was aware the power of France was such, as to call for the utmost vigilance, exertion and vigour on the part of this country ; but not such as to justify despondency ; that, he trusted, would be far removed from the minds of Englishmen. That high national spirit, which had ever distinguished them, and which was the great conservative of national importance, he had the firmest reliance, would uniformly preserve them from any degrading or dejected feeling."

Gentlemen of landed interest should be extremely cautious how they undervalue the commercial part of our community. It is to be remembered, that in the war with America, and in that which is just concluded, we were principally enabled to meet the charges, by the revenue arising from commerce. To its commerce, this country owes its chief splendor. And the reason which gives to commerce superior activity in this nation is, the spirit of our constitution, which opens the avenues of respect and honour equally to commercial as professional men. Found-

ed in truth is the maxim which asserts “*Eò impendi laborem, ac periculum, unde emolumentum atque honos speretur. Nihil non aggressuros homines, si magna conatis magna præmia proponantur.*” (Liv. iv. 35.) Woe be to our trade, when this spirit is checked or discouraged. Forbid it indeed, that men of minds contracted by the little and petty dealings of a retail shop, should be invested with legislative authority: but our British merchants of the higher class do not come within that description. They are men of liberal education, enlarged views, polished manners, and generous principles. They are thus eminently qualified for a British senate; a council, in which questions commercial must of necessity be discussed very frequently; not indeed as to minute particulars, but on the broad ground of general policy. If indeed there were danger, that in England, as in Holland, every feeling of patriotism would be absorbed in selfishness and avarice and lust of gain; then we might deprecate the encouragement of commerce: but as there are energies in the British constitution, and in the minds of Englishmen, which will be more than adequate to resist such evil, let commerce maintain its due proportion of respectability.

Sully,

Sully, in the twelfth book of his memoirs, p. 61. vol. ii. ed. 1761, has given occasion for the following stricture: "We must likewise agree, that one of the chief cares of a sovereign being to maintain and strengthen unanimity between his subjects, by banishing jealousies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animosities of the several orders towards each other; and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flourishing; the greatest part of the maxims laid down with this view (of giving to military virtue the most decided preference and almost exclusive honour) are unsupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themselves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade?" (Note, translated from the the French edition of Sully's Memoirs.) This proposed *compulsion* of course is a measure at which a Briton would spurn with just indignation. The distribution however itself, is conceived in political wisdom.

About this time, the funds experienced a slight depression, and some articles of life were advanced in price, under public apprehension that
 Buonaparte

Buonaparte had entered into the preliminaries of peace, merely as a stratagem by which to effect the sailing of his naval armament to the West Indies. This apprehension has been encreased by the preparations making at Portsmouth, for sending out all the line of battle ships, victualled for five months, to join the channel fleet; and also, by the sailing of six men of war from Plymouth, victualled for five months, on foreign service.

In the present disturbed state of the West Indies, it is prudent to keep a considerable naval force in that quarter. And as it is possible, though from its impolicy not probable, that Buonaparte may have insidious designs, it is thence necessary that our fleet on that station should be superior to the French. Whatever may be the strength of France in the West Indies, yet as our naval armament is there of greater force, we have nothing to apprehend.

He was no mean statesman, who made the following remark:

“ Fortis et constantis est, non perturbari in rebus asperis, nec tumultuantem de gradu dejici, ut dicitur; sed præsentis animo uti et consilio, nec a ratione discedere. Quanquam hoc animi, illud etiam ingenii magni est, præcipere cogitatione

tione futura, et aliquanto ante constituere quid accidere possit in utramque partem; et quid agendum sit, cùm quid evenerit; nec committere, ut aliquando dicendum sit, *non putaram*. Hæc sunt opera magni animi et excelsi, et prudentiâ consilioque fidentis!" (Cic. Off. 1. 23.)

Friday, March 12. The order of the day, for the house to go into a committee of supply, was moved; and on the motion of Mr. William Elliott, the navy estimates were referred to the said Committee.

Mr. Elliott moved the first resolution; which was, that 140,705*l.* be granted for the ordinary establishment of the navy for two months.

Mr. Robson, having raised some objections, expressed his dissatisfaction that there were so few members present, on this and other occasions of voting public money for the disposal of ministers.

On this point, the chancellor of the exchequer observed, it struck his mind that the attendance, which had been made the subject of so much complaint, was only to be viewed as a decisive evidence, that on the matter under consideration there was but one sentiment and one voice which

which was felt and expressed by every member of the house “ I am confident, sir, there is but one sentiment on the propriety of sustaining at its highest point, the naval greatness, the maritime strength, the independent spirit of this country. I am convinced that every member of this house is so fully impressed with a belief that there exists unanimity in this feeling, that he thinks he may safely go away, and leave the subject to the consideration of some few; conscious as he is, that they will be faithful to the trust reposed in them; that they will display a due sense of the importance of the charge committed to their care; that they will spurn the idea of countenancing any measure, which might have the effect of degrading the national dignity at so delicate a conjuncture of public affairs. The honourable gentleman complains, that the supplies are voted only for two months; and supposes, that from this mode of providing for the national expenditure, the enemy may be induced to conceive we are resolved to have peace at all events, and on any terms. For myself, sir, as well as for the rest of his Majesty’s ministers, I must utterly disdain every such insinuation; and must take the liberty of assuring the house, that his Majesty’s ministers shall

shall propose no vote, shall express no sentiments, shall harbour no opinion so disgraceful to the national character, so degrading to the national dignity, as even to call on the house to sanction a peace concluded on such terms as those which the honourable gentleman supposes. In the motion now before the house, there is surely nothing which in the remotest degree can favour such a supposition. The object of the motion is simply to enable government to keep up an establishment, calculated to meet whatever emergencies may occur; but it does by no means imply that such an establishment will be necessary, or that it will actually be maintained. All that it proposes is, that in case of necessity this establishment may be kept up for the period of two months; though I hope the security of our national interests and honour will not render it necessary even during that period. If, however, on the other hand, sir, those great objects should render an establishment of this kind necessary for a longer time, I trust there is a spirit in the house and country, which would require it to be kept up not for two months only, but for any other period. The attendance of this evening, which to the honourable gentleman is a subject of complaint, is to me a most convincing

convincing proof of the complete acquiescence of this house in the line of conduct, which, under the present circumstances of the country, ministers have thought it their duty to pursue; a line of conduct, which if they had not adopted, they would be chargeable with violating in a most culpable manner their duty to that country, whose honour and whose glory they are bound to protect; their obligations to that Sovereign, who has entrusted them with the management of his affairs and direction of his councils; their feelings, not merely as men, but as Englishmen, called upon by every motive, and bound by every tie to uphold the national independence, dignity, and fame."

Mr. William Elliott's motion, and other resolutions for defraying naval expences during the period of two months, were put, and carried without a division.

Sunday, March 14.—This is the anniversary of Mr. Addington's official appointment. May the second and every succeeding year of his administration, correspond with that which is just past, in producing an equal degree of national happiness! He hath been hitherto "fortunatusque laborum,

laborum, egregiusque animi," (Virg. *Æn.* 11. 416.) Or, to speak in language which better becomes Christians, and which his own education taught him to approve, "The Lord hath made all that he hath done, to prosper in his hands!" Gen. xxxix. 3.

The several most responsible and most respectable departments of ministry are at this time filled by the following persons:

The duke of Portland is lord president of the council.

Lord Eldon, lord chancellor.

Lord Westmoreland, lord privy seal.

Lord Pelham, secretary of state for the home department.

Lord Hawkesbury, secretary of state for foreign affairs.

Lord Hobart, secretary of state for the war department.

Lord Dartmouth, president of the board of controul for Indian affairs.

Lord St. Vincent, first lord of the admiralty.

Lord Chatham, master of the ordnance.

Duke of York, commander in chief of the forces.

Mr. Yorke, secretary at war.

Mr.

Mr. Steele, and lord Glenbervie, joint-paymasters of the forces.

Mr. Bragge, treasurer of the navy.

Lord Hardwicke, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Lord Chesterfield, master of the horse.

Lord Auckland, and lord Charles Spencer, joint post-masters general.

Sir William Grant, master of the rolls.

Sir Edward Law, attorney general.

Mr. Percival, solicitor general.

Monday, March 15.—In the house of peers; lord Carlisle thought it but justice to the present ministers, to say, that, in his opinion, they deserved every kind of praise for the promptitude and vigour with which their conduct was recently marked. But he wished to obtain some information respecting the altered condition of France. If all the terms of the preliminary treaty had been the fairest and most favourable that could possibly be, yet the spirit of them must have been entirely changed, and the advantages of them to this country must have been done away, by the conduct of France since the period at which the preliminary treaty was signed. The chief consul has assumed the presidency of the Italian republic. This extraordinary measure, however, which placed
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all Italy in the power of France, is not the only circumstance which has altered the condition of the French republic: she has in addition to this acquired more than an equal portion of colonial territory. By the treaty with Spain she was to get a port in the Mediterranean, to secure the possession of Louisiana, the two Floridas, and the river of the Amazons. He wished then to know what measures ministers had adopted in the course of the negociation, with the view of counteracting this great and alarming change, which had taken place in the state of France?

Lord Pelham was assured the noble earl could not desire him to disclose affairs, which ought to be kept secret. When the definitive treaty should come to be discussed, the noble lord and that house would be furnished with every particular of information, which might be necessary for them to receive, in order to form on it a right judgment.

Lord Carlisle expressed his acquiescence; adding however his conceptions, that probably the same vigour, which had recently been displayed by ministers, had also prompted them to insist on alterations in the preliminaries, and to withdraw many of the concessions before made.

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Before Buonaparte had aspired to the presidency of the Italian republic, which he has assumed to himself whilst the negociation of peace has been under consideration at Amiens, it had been stipulated that Malta should be garrisoned by half Neapolitan and half French troops. As the chief consul of France, by taking to himself its presidency, is thence invested with power to controul Italy, lord Carlisle conceives the troops of the king of Naples will be too much under the influence of France; more especially if Malta is garrisoned by half French troops, no less than by half Neapolitan. Hence, he apprehends danger, lest Malta eventually should fall into the hands of the chief consul. Malta, which for a century has been of no great consequence, is now rendered important from its vicinity to Egypt. If France is possessed of that island, an expedition from thence to the coast of Egypt will, on any sudden rupture, be greatly facilitated. It is the policy of England to impede any attack on Egypt, which France may meditate. For, by settling in Egypt, the French would not only gain a province in itself valuable both from its fertility and advantageous situation for trade, but they would also establish themselves in a quarter, from which
might

might be apprehended imminent danger to the Turkish empire, and considerable insecurity to our own East Indian possessions.

Thursday, March 18.—The lord mayor of London held a common hall. The propriety of petitioning parliament to repeal the income tax, was taken into consideration. A resolution to that effect was moved and carried. Among other objections made to the income tax, was this assumption; "That no modification of it can render it either equitable, or just."

That the income tax is not equitable and just in *principle*, can never be admitted. For, as a laborious and well informed writer observes, "It is just every one should pay a general tax, for the support of the state, in proportion to his abilities." (Steuart's Political Œconomy, B. v. c. 8. vol. ii. p. 539. ed. 1767.) This author has treated copiously on the subject of taxes; both those which are proportional, and those which are cumulative. He is far from being inattentive to the several causes, which render both inconvenient; he says, however, "I think little objection can be made to cumulative taxes, when they are imposed upon possessions, which produce a visible annual revenue, clear to the proprietor." (Ibid. p. 519.)

The usage of requiring a tenth of commercial articles and of land proceeds, prevailed at Athens. It is true, public religion was thence supported; but so was the state also. “Decimæ vero præcipuè pendi solebant tam diis ipsis, quàm reipublicæ regibusve, quòd illæ viderentur iustissimæ efficiendo vectigali partes, adeo ut hoc vectigalis genus fuerit receptissimum: itaque vectigalia tam maritima, quàm agraria decimis præcipuè constabant partibus proventuum aut exportandarum importandarumque rerum.” (Julius Pollux. l. 8. s. 132. Not.)

Ascertaining income is a custom of high antiquity.

Servius Tullius, a legislator of more than common capacity, and a popular king, obliged every citizen to deliver upon oath a true account of his property. His object was, that each might be classed and rated according to his fortune. The Roman historian, who on every occasion shews an honest indignation against the intemperate use of power, acknowledges this to have been “Rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio: ex quo bellimunia non viritim, ut antè, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent.” (Liv. i. 42.) The heavy burthens for maintaining the public force, were thrown on those who could best support them:

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“Hæc omnia in dices a pauperibus inclinata onera.” (Ibid. l. i. 43.)

Though Rome was under regal government, yet Athens was not, at the time to which allusion is made in the above cited remark. It was not judged inconsistent even with the democracy of that city, to require a proportion. Nor in this nation can it be unconstitutional, to demand a tenth of income towards the public exigencies, if such a tax be laid on us by that, which is the legitimate power of this country, the consent and act of parliament.

Mr. Pitt in proposing, and the parliament in giving sanction to the income tax, alike acted with spirit and wisdom. They consulted and yielded to the necessity of the case. And it never should be forgotten, that at the period when the income tax was first introduced, every other expedient of finance had been tried. It is not meant by this, that the funding system *could* not longer be pursued: it must however be acknowledged, that to have proceeded farther in that system, would have been extremely dangerous to public credit, which already had begun very sensibly to decline. Recourse having been once made to voluntary contributions, could not be repeated. Raising the assessed taxes to an amount

even quadruple, would not have answered the immediate purpose: for, some of the articles on which they could have been laid, might have been those for which many œconomists would have had no occasion, and thus the proceeds would have been diminished: and even if they had brought in the sum calculated, yet that aid would not have been adequate to the pressure of the times. There was in reality no other alternative, than either to endanger public credit in an alarming degree by pursuing the funding system; or, to raise the supplies within the year. The latter was beyond comparison the preferable measure. And hundreds of those very persons, who are now reprobating the only plan by which it was possible so to raise the supplies, are probably deriving very great advantages from the adoption of it; since it tended to keep up the funds, and of course conduced to make stock at this present time proportionably more valuable.

A popular writer, by no means inclined to speak with partiality on Mr. Pitt's measures, yet candidly says, respecting the income tax, "I am so far from censuring the minister for having done so much, that I sincerely wish he had done a great deal more.—I consider the property of men united in society, so far to belong to the state, that
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any portion of it may justly be called by the legislature, for the promotion of the common good; and it is then most equitably called for, when all individuals possessing property of any kind, contribute in proportion to their possessions."

(Bp. Watson's Address to the People of Great Britain in 1798, p. 2. 4.)

Friday, March 19.—The arrival of the French fleet at St. Domingo, and the resistance made by the officers of general Touffaint to the landing of French troops, are fully detailed in authentic papers. Cape François has been burnt, and destruction is threatened to all the whites, by the men of colour.

Whoever would thoroughly investigate the causes, which have contributed to erect St. Domingo into an independent black republic, would do well to consult the work of BRYAN EDWARDS, entitled, "An Historical Survey of the French Colony in the island of St. Domingo." That eloquent, animated, and penetrating author, develops the source of all the crimes and miseries, which from the year 1791 have spread desolation and woe, over a spot where havoc has not yet finished its deeds of atrocity. There was in Paris, previously to the year 1789, a philanthropic society, called *Amis des Noirs*. This society brought

brought to Paris from St. Domingo some men of colour, who resided in the capital, and were instructed by these their pretended friends. Among others, one "Ogé had been introduced to the meetings of the *Amis des Noirs*, under the patronage of Gregoire, Brissot, La Fayette, and Robertspierre, the leading members of that society; and was by them initiated into the popular doctrine of *equality*, and the *rights of man*. Here it was that he first learnt the miseries of his condition, the cruel wrongs and contumelies to which he and all his mulatto brethren were exposed in the West Indies, and the monstrous injustice and absurdity of that prejudice, "which (said Gregoire) estimating a man's merit by the colour of his skin, has placed at an immense distance from each other the children of the same parent; a prejudice, which stifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity asunder."

"That these are great evils must frankly be admitted; and it would have been fortunate if such men as Brissot and Gregoire, instead of bewailing their existence, and magnifying their extent, had applied their talents in considering of the best practicable means of redressing them. But these persons had other objects in view: their aim, as I have shewn, was not to reform, but

to destroy; to excite convulsions in every part of the French empire; and the ill-fated Ogé became their tool, and was afterwards the victim of their guilty ambition. (Edwards's Hist. of St. Domingo, c. 4. p. 42. ed. 1797.) Ogé returned to St. Domingo on Oct. 12. 1790, furnished with arms and ammunition, which he secreted. He dispatched a letter to the governor, who was a royalist, requiring that the privileges enjoyed by the whites should be extended to all other persons without distinction; he declared himself the protector of the mulattos, and announced his intention of taking up arms in their behalf, unless their wrongs should be redressed. (ibid.) He excited the mulattos to revolt; who under his conduct repeatedly committed acts of shocking barbarity. He was at length taken prisoner; and then confessed that a dreadful plot was in agitation, the effect of which were those scenes of conflagration and massacre, which soon after ensued. (ibid.) In his preface to this work, under the most full persuasion that the calamities of St. Domingo had their origin in the suggestion of the *Amis des Noirs*, the author speaks thus of his *Narrative*:

“ On the sober and considerate, on those who are open to conviction, this assemblage of horrors will

will have its effect. It will expose the lamentable ignorance of some, and the monstrous wickedness of others, among the reformers of the present day, who, urging onwards schemes of perfection, and projects of amendment in the condition of human life, faster than nature allows, are lighting up a consuming fire between the different classes of mankind, which nothing but human blood can extinguish. To tell such men that great and beneficial modifications in the established orders of society, can only be effected by a progressive improvement in the situation of the lower ranks of the people, is to preach to the wind. In their hands reformation, with a scythe more destructive than that of time, mows down every thing, and plants nothing. Moderation and caution they consider as rank cowardice. Force and violence are the ready, and, in their opinion, the only proper application for the cure of early and habitual prejudices. Their practice, like that of other mountebanks, is bold and compendious; their motto is *cure or kill.*"

"These reflections necessarily arise from the circumstance, which is incontrovertibly proved in the following pages, namely, that the rebellion of the negroes in St. Domingo, and the insurrection of the mulattos, to whom Ogé was sent as ambassador,

ambassador, had one and the same origin. It was not the strong and irresistible impulse of human nature, groaning under oppression, that excited either of those classes to plunge their daggers into the bosoms of unoffending women and helpless infants. They were driven into those excesses, reluctantly driven, by the vile machinations of men calling themselves philosophers—whose pretences to philanthropy were as gross a mockery of human reason, as their conduct was an outrage on all the feelings of our nature, and the ties which hold society together!”—(Preface, p. xix.)

The revolutionary doctrines, of which herself set the example, will now recoil on France, and renew the sorrow of her people; sorrow, which hath already been deep and bitter, such as needed not additional wars to aggravate its load, but demands rather years of peace to console and obliterate its wretchedness. The eventual termination of this revolt at St. Domingo is interesting to all Europe. Should Touffaint, himself a negro general, be enabled to establish a government of blacks, every settlement through the West Indies will be in a perilous situation. For, with such a precedent existing immediately before their eyes, and with such a place of refuge in case of failure,
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it is more than probable that the slaves in every colony will make a desperate and ferocious attempt to emancipate themselves. In deprecating the insurrection of negroes against whites, not only consideration of political interest, but even the very cause of humanity is concerned. Arms in the hands of men, many of whom are savage Africans, and all of whom are exceedingly influenced by vindictive passions, would be as fire-brands committed to children, as swords entrusted to the insane, dealing ruin and slaughter in every place they approached. "Do you then defend the slave trade?" No: it is an accursed thing. Moral evil also is an accursed thing. But to eradicate the slave trade, I would no more slay thousands of whites, than to eradicate moral evil I would destroy mankind. A deed of more horrid cruelty must not be wrought for the purpose of preventing a custom far less cruel. If man is bound, as he certainly is bound, to follow prudence, it is his duty to proceed by PRACTICABLE and GRADUAL means in his endeavours to remove an established and inveterate evil. By every possible argument applicable to the case, convince the planters, that if they regard the very existence of their own posterity, they will in policy, they will in humanity to their own future successors, proceed

proceed to limit gradually, till they have stopped entirely, the importation of slaves. And they must do this, not by the nugatory semblance of acts never designed to be put in force; but by the substantial authority of decrees, which are really intended to have effect, by being carried into rigorous execution. Exhort them to meliorate the condition of the slaves already among them; encourage the rearing of children in your islands; train up those children as Europeans are trained, in a christian sense of duty to God and their fellow creatures; fix in them right ideas of that mutual relation and mutual interest, which subsist between master and servant; prevail on them to be industrious through principle; make them sensible that true liberty consists in due subordination and obedience to established laws: when you have effected this, pronounce your negroes free; but till all this is accomplished, it may be averred with truth, they are not to be trusted with liberty.

The chancellor of the exchequer moved, that there be laid before the house an account of the gross amount of the duty paid under the income tax, together with the assessed duties for Great Britain, up to the fifth of April, 1801; distinguishing

tinguishing the returns made before the commercial commissioners. Ordered.

He then moved, for the gross amount of the income duty, for the year ending 1801, distinguishing the different classes; viz. those under 200*l.* per annum; from that sum to 500*l.*; from that to 1,000*l.*; then to 2,000*l.*; and lastly to 5,000*l.* with all above that amount; distinguishing at the same time the deductions on account of children, and specifically stating the number of persons in each class. Ordered.

In the course of some conversation relative to the income tax, he took occasion to say, that whatever might be the opinion he entertained of that tax, it was the result of long and serious reflection; nor could any thing which occurred in any quarter, however respectable, influence or alter his mind on the subject. What his sentiments were, would be seen when he submitted to the house the ways and means for the year.

Whatever may be the opinion of Mr. Addington, yet any one who will impartially consider the effective manner, in which taken abstractedly it tends to produce the end designed, will pronounce the income tax to be of all others the most equitable. And for this reason: It is the only tax,

tax, which can reach persons of every description, possessing property. That commercial men should prefer taxes on articles of consumption, can be no matter of surprize. For, in fact, they would thus rid themselves of a burthen, which they would throw on the consumer: since, after all, it is the consumer who ultimately pays the tax, which apparently seems to fall, because it is by name laid, on some specific article of merchandize. That stockholders also should object to the income tax, might naturally be expected: it is their interest rather to encourage taxes, which shall leave it to their option how large a proportion they shall pay, either in the way of consumption or assessment. That men of both the above descriptions should also wish to ease themselves, and lay a heavier burthen on the landholder, is nothing extraordinary. Their views to selfish considerations will direct their inclinations to that point. But why an income arising from land, already burthened with heavy rates for the poor, should be more subjected to demands for the supply of public exigences, than an income proceeding from trade, or from the funds, no one sufficient reason can be given. Commercial men and stockholders are equally defended and protected by government, as landholders; and, consequently,

frequently, ought in justice to contribute equally, according to their several abilities, towards defraying the charges of such defence and protection.

Thus much for the *principle* of the income tax. In maintaining however the *principle*, it is not pretended that *new modifications* may not be desirable. That is a different question. Probably some change in the proportion may be advisable; and some methods of ascertaining income, less liable to scandalous evasion, than the modes which have hitherto been notoriously evaded, may deserve to be recommended and substituted by parliament.

Tuesday, March 23.—The report of the committee, appointed to examine into the amount and state of the civil list, is now in circulation. For the credit of Mr. Hiley Addington, and Mr. Nicholas Vansittart, secretaries of the treasury, be it said, This work must have required much labour in compiling, as it consists of 73 printed folio pages: and it appears to have been digested with great accuracy, as it specifies the particular articles of expenditure, arranged under the eight following classes. 1. Pensions and allowances to the royal family. 2. Salaries of the lord chancellor; speaker of the house of commons; and judges of England and Wales. 3. Salaries to ministers

ministers at foreign courts. 4. Approved bills of all tradesmen, artificers, and labourers, for any articles supplied, or work done, for his Majesty's service. 5. Menial servants of his Majesty's household. 6. Pension list. 7. Salaries of all places payable out of the civil list. 8. Salaries and pensions of the high treasurer, or commissioners of the exchequer, and the chancellor of the exchequer.

On Mr. Tierney's motion for an account of the gross amount of the four-and-a-half per cent. duties, the chancellor of the exchequer having intimated his acquiescence, merely because there had been a precedent in 1786, proceeded to observe, he should otherwise have objected. And for this reason; he considered those duties as the exclusive property of his Majesty; for, in the year 1663, the crown purchased the island of Barbadoes from the earl of Carlisle. Previously to that purchase, the island paid annually to his lordship a certain quantity of cotton. By virtue of the sale, this annual payment of cotton was conveyed to the crown. The crown however commuted this impost, for an annual duty of four-and-a-half per cent. on the produce of the island. The same commutation happened at Nevis, Antigua, Montserrat, and St. Christopher's.

This circumstance was well known; and therefore, in the several acts, which had hitherto been passed for maintaining the dignity of the crown by supplies of money, no notice had been taken of these four-and-a-half per cent. duties, because they were considered as the private and exclusive right of his Majesty.

Wednesday, March 24.—The chancellor of the exchequer moved certain resolutions, respecting those branches of public service which were described under the head of miscellaneous service, and not yet provided for by parliament.

The secretary at war moved, “That 238,000 *l.* should be granted for defraying the charges of the embodied militia for England, from March 25 to May 24th.”

And, “That 135,692 *l.* 2 *s.* 3 *d.* should be granted for defraying the charges of the embodied militia for Ireland, during the same period.”

At the present conjuncture of affairs, these articles of parliamentary proceeding and financial arrangement attract notice. It is observed, that if the chancellor of the exchequer had not strong assurance that the definitive treaty would soon be concluded, he would not continue to postpone mention of the loan; nor would he thus
limit

limit the time of providing for the embodied militia of the united kingdoms.

Thursday, March 25.—The chancellor of the exchequer defended earl St. Vincent and lord Grey, against an insinuation that at the time they brought for adjudication at Barbadoes two American vessels, taken in the West Indies, they knew there had been a revocation of the order of council made in 1793, for seizing and detaining all such vessels, which should be found sailing to the French islands. The fact is, under that order they failed and acted. But, in 1794, this country and America entered into a treaty of amity; by which it was agreed, that whatever American vessels had been captured in the West Indies, should be restored, and compensation rendered to the parties injured. With this treaty however earl St. Vincent and lord Grey were not in due time made acquainted. Of course, having received no instructions to the contrary, they proceeded to obey the original order, under which they failed. They took, within the limits described in the order, two American vessels, which were condemned as lawful prizes. They are now required to make that compensation, for which the treaty stipulates. The sum of 45,322*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.* is demanded of them. But as

these gallant and distinguished officers became subject to such claim of restitution, entirely through ignorance that any treaty had superseded the order of council, and in capturing the vessels were on this, as on other occasions, discharging in a signal and vigorous manner their duty to the public, the public is bound in honour to see them indemnified. And for this the chancellor of the exchequer contends, repelling the imputation thrown on two commanders, who rank among the highest for merit and honour in their respective professions, naval and military.

Monday, March 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer gave notice, that on Monday next he should state the terms of the loan, and the taxes for defraying the interest. He informed the house it was his intention to move a repeal of the income tax. When the tax was proposed, he thought it a wise measure, a legitimate source of revenue in time of war; but as peace was restored, it was no longer necessary for him to use that reserve, which he had uniformly adopted, whenever the subject had been mentioned on recent occasions; he should declare therefore, he conceived the tax inapplicable to a time of peace.

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The house resolved itself into a committee on the civil list. The chancellor of the exchequer spoke to this effect: "Before I proceed to enter on the particulars of the report now on the table, or to refer more immediately to his Majesty's most gracious message, upon which message it is my intention to propose a resolution, I trust the house in a committee will approve of not resting it entirely on the feelings, honourable as they are, of affection and attachment to his Majesty, but on those combined considerations which cannot fail to make the most forcible appeal to the generosity, the justice, and the wisdom of the house. We have now before us a report, containing all the information which it was possible for the various offices, connected with his Majesty's civil list, to furnish. That report contains in itself a complete answer, to the observations and comments of ignorant and disaffected persons. It will appear, that a very inconsiderable portion indeed, when compared with all the statements which have been made, is applied to the personal use and enjoyment of his Majesty. I hope it will be no longer asserted, that his Majesty enjoys advantages arising from income or revenue, beyond those of his illustrious predecessors."

Having then given a progressive and minute detail of the several amounts at which the civil

list establishment stood in former reigns, from that of king William in 1697 to the beginning of his present Majesty's; and having also intimated that in the reign of George the First, application for relief was made to parliament; and with George the Second it was stipulated that parliament should make good any deficiency below 800,000*l.*; he proceeded to observe—"The conduct of his Majesty in giving up his hereditary rights, and leaving it for parliament to provide the whole of his revenue, has been called by Sir William Blackstone, a proof of the most disinterested bounty. In consequence of it, parliament assigned a revenue of 900,000*l. per annum*, subject to life annuities of 70,000*l.* It could not (and indeed it was foretold) it could not happen otherwise than that in the course of a long period growing incumbrances would arise, which would render it necessary for his Majesty to resort for new supply to the liberality of parliament." The several grants in 1769, 1775, 1776, 1784, and 1786, having been enumerated, he comprised the whole sum, and said, "there has been granted at different periods to pay off the excess of the civil list expences 1,523,511*l.* I would ask whether the sums, which have been granted to his Majesty on account of the arrears of the civil list, up to the present time, when the situation and circumstances

stances of his family are taken into consideration, and when we advert to the fact that the country, during the whole of the period, has been advancing in wealth and prosperity, is a sum, which added to the civil list of each year in due proportion, was capable of producing a revenue equal to what was enjoyed by Anne, or George the First or Second?"

After some remarks on the fair and open manner in which the report was drawn up; and after expressing a confident persuasion that the committee would discover in it not the slightest imputation of mismanagement in his Majesty's household, of corruption in any quarter, or of profusion in the disposal of any part of the sum allotted to the expences of the civil list; he continued his speech by adding—"Under those heads of charge, which the house justly views with the greatest jealousy, namely, pensions and salaries, there has been a very considerable reduction. It is impossible for any individual, who is obliged to preserve an appearance of rank, to have been able to do it for some late years, out of the same income which he possessed at the period when the present civil list was granted to his Majesty. When gentlemen refer to their own experience for the increased value of every article in life, during the course of the last two or three years, and

when they reflect on all the circumstances of the times, I am sure they will perceive in their own judgments that it is easy to account for the excess. There are several articles, which I feel it incumbent on me to notice particularly. In page 52 it will appear, that part of the debt, is the debt under the first class, including those incurred by the queen, on account of the younger branches of the royal family. When it is considered what is the number, and the time of life of those younger branches; and that the expence on their account falls exclusively to the Queen; it will be no small matter of astonishment that the debt should have amounted to no more than a sum of 28,634*l*. A very large portion of this arose upon the marriage of the Prince of Wales. In the same page will be found a charge for the princess Charlotte. It was made to commence in 1797, though it was not advanced till a later period. I am sure it will be felt by the committee, that it is quite impossible the expence of supporting the princess Charlotte should be borne by the Prince of Wales, considering the restrictions to which he is subject by the act of parliament for arranging the liquidation of his debts."

Some observations on other articles were followed by these concluding words: "I would ask gentlemen, if any there are who wish to animad-

vert on the civil list, whether from what they have seen or heard, they can refer any part of the expence to wanton profusion. Have we seen any more of the splendor of royalty than what we are pleased with observing? We have seen only that degree of splendor which belongs to the chief magistrate. Sure I am, that the loyal feelings of the country have been rather disappointed than satiated at the display of it exhibited by his Majesty. It is impossible, however, for his Majesty to maintain that which is necessary, if some relief is not granted. I am not aware that it is now requisite for me to enlarge more on the subject, I shall therefore conclude by moving, That it is the opinion of this Committee the sum of 990,050*l.* be granted to his Majesty, to discharge the arrears on the debt due and owing on the civil list on the 5th of January, 1802."

Mr. Fox having objected to some of the articles, contended, that ministers should be compelled to confine the expence of the civil list within its income; and that resort to parliament for payment of its debts was unconstitutional.

Mr. Pitt vindicated the articles to which Mr. Fox had objected. He insisted on it, there never was stated to parliament a case of deficiency in the civil list, in which its debts were not paid.

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He went farther; he affirmed, there never was a case in every respect so free from suspicion, and so justly meriting the attention of parliament as the present application.

Mr. Tierney did not agree with Mr. Fox in maintaining it as unconstitutional to resort to parliament for the payment of civil list arrears; nor did he coincide in opinion with Mr. Pitt, in approbation of all the articles mentioned in the report. In contradiction to Mr. Fox's principle, he was persuaded it was but just that parliament should have the power of amending the condition of the civil list, whenever it thought proper. From thence he argued for the competency of parliament to investigate the several articles of expenditure, with a view not only to its own satisfaction, but also to that of the people. In his remarks on particulars, he paid some compliments to the chancellor of the exchequer.

The original motion was put. For it 226. Against it 51. Majority for the minister's motion 175.

On the day of this debate, the public was gratified with the following Gazette Extraordinary:

London

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Downing-street, March 29.

Mr. Moore, assistant secretary to marquis Cornwallis, arrived this morning at nine o'clock, with the definitive treaty of peace, which was signed at Amiens at four o'clock in the afternoon on the 27th inst. by the plenipotentiary of his Majesty, and by the plenipotentiaries of France, Spain, and the Batavian Republic.

Immediately after the publication of this gazette, Mr. Newland read the following letter at the Stock-exchange :

To the Governor, &c. of the Bank.

Gentlemen, Downing-street, March 28.

I have to request you will cause notice to be given at the Stock-exchange, to-morrow morning, that on Wednesday morning, at eleven o'clock, I shall be ready to confer with such gentlemen as may be inclined to make proposals for entering into a contract for the loan for the public service; and I trust that I shall be honoured with your attendance on that occasion.

I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your faithful and obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

H. Addington.

It

It is observed, that the early communication made by the minister respecting the signature and arrival of the definitive treaty, prevented speculations in the funds, which were steady the whole of Monday 29 inst.

We have now terminated a defensive war, into which we were precipitated by the aggression of France, when hostilities were commenced against the United Provinces, which by the treaties of 1787 and 1788, were allied to Great Britain. In resistance, however, we should otherwise have been compelled to engage, by very serious apprehensions for the security and preservation of the British constitution. Previously to the 1st of February, 1793, the day on which the national convention unanimously decreed, that the republic of France was at war with Great Britain, and the Stadholder of Holland, the Jacobin party, which was the prevailing democratic faction, (and which derived its name from assembling in a place, that was once a religious house belonging to the order of Jacobin monks) had corresponded with several societies in England, and had industriously propagated throughout this kingdom their fundamental maxim, that the "governed should be excited to rebel against their governors."

(Marsh's

(Marsh's History of the Politics of Great Britain and France, vol. i p. 199. ed. 1800.)

In the month of October, 1792, the national convention declared itself to be "a grand committee of the general insurrection of the people in the world; whose duty it is to dissolve existing governments, and to force that dissolution on those who are refractory and refuse the proffered bounty of the French nation." (Miles's Conduct of France towards Great Britain, p. 89. ed. 1793.) On November 19th, 1792, the national convention more openly avowed their plan of subverting, if possible, every established government; and with this design they passed, and ordered to be translated into all the languages of Europe, a decree which purported, "That France was ready to assist every nation, which was willing to rebel against its own government." (Marsh's Hist. vol. i. p. 201. Lord Mornington's speech in the house of commons, on Jan. 21, 1794, p. 7. Doddsley's Annual Register for 1792, part 2d. State Papers, p. 355. The decree indeed was not written in words corresponding literally with the English translation given them by Mr. Marsh; but the object of it was so palpably notorious, that it was impossible for the people of England to misinterpret its meaning. Brissot, though himself a party concerned
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in it, yet acknowledges frankly in a "letter to his constituents," that this decree was sufficient ground for alarm in other countries. Among other causes of the war, he states as the first, "The absurd and impolitic decree of the 19th of November; which very justly excited uneasiness in foreign cabinets." (Brissot to his constituents, p. 63.) This decree gave confidence to the advocates of jacobinism in England. Deputies from many British societies presented themselves before the national convention. Mutual addresses passed between them; all intimating a hope, that the French form of government would be introduced into England; and that here also would be established a "national convention." (Marsh, vol. i. p. 206.) In the mean time were employed emissaries, whose business it was to distribute money among the lower orders of people. In London was concerted a plot for a revolution. (Miles reasons conclusively on the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, p. 13. See also Doddsley's Ann. Reg. for 1792, part 2d. State Papers, p. 196. Royal Proclamation on Dec. 1, 1792. Marsh. vol. i. p. 223 and 259.) The national convention co-operated with the jacobins in this country, to overthrow our constitution. (Marsh. vol. i. p. 227.) On every principle of self-defence, by
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the law of nature, and the law of nations, the government of England would have been justified, as by every motive of regard for public weal it was strongly urged, to repel such insidious and treasonable machinations, by open hostilities against the authors of them. Yet forbearance on our side was prolonged to the period, at which France passed her decree for war. (Miles, Appendix, p. 244.) It is not however to be imagined that war was not in the contemplation of France before that period. The contrary is the fact. "We will fly to their (i. e. *English republicans*) aid; we will make a descent upon that island (i. e. England); we will pour in 50,000 caps of liberty; we will plant there the sacred tree; we will stretch out our arms to our republican brethren;"—says Monge, the minister of the French marine department, in his circular letter, dated 31st December, 1792. (Mr. Nicholas Vansittart's *Reflections on the Propriety of an immediate Conclusion of Peace*, ed. 1794. p. 15.) The instructions given to Genet, the French ambassador to the American States, were signed Jan. 3, 1793. The purport of these instructions (says Mr. Harper, a member of the American congress) was "to bring the United States into a war against Great Britain." (See *Observations on the*

the Dispute between the United States and France, p. 95. by R. G. Harper, Esquire, one of the representatives of congress.) It is to be observed on these instructions, that they were dated twenty-one days before Chauvelin, the French minister of the national convention, was ordered to quit England; a circumstance which did not happen till Jan. 24, 1793. Yet Chauvelin's dismissal was by France made a pretence for commencing hostilities. This remark is suggested by Mr. Harper; and carries with it the more forcible weight, as that gentleman still unhappily retained American prejudices against Great Britain.

But France, at the time of its attack on Holland, in January 1793, did in effect begin a war with Great Britain. For the rulers of France were acquainted with the treaty of alliance, made in the year 1788, and which subsisted in full force between the United Provinces and this country; an express condition of which treaty is this; "in case of an attack from any European power, to protect each other by sea as well as by land, and reciprocally to guarantee all the countries, places, and privileges, which the contracting parties hitherto possessed," (Marsh, vol. i. p. 241. and p. 255 :) the very stipulation, by virtue of which

which the Dutch government "dispatched several couriers to England to demand succour," (Marsh, vol. i. 250.) immediately when it was known the executive council of France had passed a resolution "to deprive the United States of their sovereignty over the Scheldt." (*ibid.* v. i. p. 249.) And in reality, in their aggression against the United Provinces, they intended to provoke and involve England in a war, which they hoped would prove to us disastrous in its consequences. For, if their designs can be known from the speeches delivered in their convention, it is evident they conceived the conquest of Holland would lead to the destruction of British commerce; (Marsh, vol. i. p. 367. Mr. Harper's Observations, p. 94.) and with that view they concerted measures for the fall of Amsterdam.

That war with England was previously intended, there is reason to conclude from that state of preparation, in which their navy appeared, and was in actual service, by the middle of Jan. 1793. (Marsh, vol. i. p. 371.) Such indeed was their activity in preparing to make an attack, that they anticipated Great Britain for a considerable space of time: "England (says Brissot) did not begin to arm till three months after us." (Letter to his Constituents, p. 52.) That the French should

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have by the 10th of January “a greater number of ships already in commission than were at that time fitting in the English ports” (Marsh, vol. ii. p. 162.) will not appear extraordinary, when we recollect that the executive council had decided on war with England, “ten weeks before the open declaration of hostilities.” (Marsh, vol. ii. 157.)

Let us now come to the truth. Whatever pretexts may have apparently been made, (and eighteen were specified in a public declaration; Marsh, vol. ii. 295) whatever reasons may have professedly been alleged by France, the real motive for her commencing war is found in these words of Brissot: “We must set fire to the four corners of Europe; in that alone is our safety!” (Preface to Brissot’s Letter to his Constituents, p. xxxv. Mr. Harper’s Observations, p. 94.) In which persuasion he agreed with Payne’s maxim, “that all Europe in insurrection was the only measure which could preserve their infant liberties.” (Miles on the Conduct, &c. p. 175.) a maxim “to be supported (says Mr. Miles in abhorrence of it) at all hazards; at the expence of every thing that is dignified in politics and equitable in morals: at the expence of public faith, and private virtue.”

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It will be a natural question for posterity to ask, "Of what kind could be those liberties, for the security and confirmation of which, it was necessary to throw all Europe into a state of convulsion?" They were the liberties (or to speak in more correct terms, the licentious outrages) of anarchy; crime; atheism: such as no regular government in the world could tolerate; because, as in name they imply, so in fact they prove, the dissolution of all government.

The proximate cause of anarchial disorder, was the murder of their king: which cause must itself be traced back to others, originating in a period thirty years antecedent, and thence gradually operating till the fatal time at which ensued that tragical event.

In the year 1762, among other conditions of the peace at Fontainbleau, it was one, that Canada should be ceded to England. From that time the Americans, who were no longer awed by apprehensions from a powerful and neighbouring enemy, began to talk loudly of throwing off allegiance to the king of Great Britain, and of asserting independence on the British government. Before three years had elapsed, an incident happened, which called forth very evident indications of their design. In the year 1764, Mr Grenville, con-
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sidering the flourishing state in which the American commerce was established, conceived it was now but just and reasonable, that America should pay the expences of her own civil list. With this view he proposed a tax. The American merchants were consulted on the kind of tax which would be most agreeable to their country. A year passed; but they returned no answer. Mr. Grenville then consulted Dr. Franklin; and (upon the authority of a late very respectable person much connected with Mr. Grenville, it is added, as by him it was told this writer) “Dr. Franklin was the man who recommended the stamp act;” which was adopted and passed in 1765. Tumults and commotions, throughout the British colonies of North America, were the consequences of this act. A repeal of it produced tranquillity among the people; from “Montcalm’s Letters,” however, observing persons did not imagine the leading men would relinquish their favourite object of national independence, but would still be intent on asserting it, whenever there should occur a fair opportunity for so doing. Cordial reconciliation between the two countries never afterwards subsisted. From time to time arose new circumstances, which created reciprocal jealousies, and occasioned mutual
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and aggravated recriminations. At length in the year 1775, America was declared to be in a state of rebellion. In 1776, on the 4th day of July, was promulgated the declaration of American independence. In 1778 France joined America in hostilities against Great Britain! a measure of policy weak as it was insidious, and of no small tendency in preparing the minds of her own subjects for the subsequent revolutionary proceedings. The troops of France were taught in America, those pernicious doctrines of insubordination, which might be expected from a people impatient for revenge on the British government, and enflamed by writings of the most seditious description; writings, which it was then for the interest of the common cause to encourage and disseminate; but which the wisdom of congress under Washington and Adams abhorred and suppressed, as incompatible with the existence of order, when peace was restored and government established. Fraught with these principles the French armies returned to their own country, little disposed to obey the commands of military discipline, or to respect any longer their ancient laws and once beloved monarch. (See preface to "Historical Epochs of the French Revolution," written by H. Goudemetz; and, from the most humane of motives,

motives, translated by Dr. Randolph, of Bath.) Vergennes, the French minister who advised the junction, soon perceived the mistake into which he had fallen. He saw the adoption of sentiments inimical to monarchy would inevitably ensue. He repented; but it was too late. The mischief was done, and was irreparable. "The crown of France, (says Goudemetz) as I once heard it emphatically observed, was lost in the plains of America."

During the course of events, which were happening in America, had operated widely and with baleful effects, the endeavours of men who at a more early period had begun to spread the doctrines of infidelity. Their efforts had been attended with the greater success, because the authors, who were so assiduous in promoting scepticism and ridiculing christianity, were writers of known and acknowledged genius. It was not sufficiently considered, that genius and reason are distinct powers of the mind: that sophistry results from the perversion of the one, as sound argument is deduced from the right exercise of the other. It was not considered, that subtle insinuations cannot destroy positive matters of fact; nor speculative difficulties invalidate the evidence of moral certainty built on historical and circumstantial truth.

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At the head of those persons, who employed their talent on a purpose so infamous, was Voltaire; a writer, in whose PROSE works it is not easy to determine whether ignorance, or impudence, or falsehood predominates; so much is there of all. Indeed what else but disingenuity could be expected from a swindler? for such he was, if there were any veracity in Sir John Dalrymple, who in the hearing of him that compiled these memoirs, related the following anecdote: "Frederic the Second, of Prussia, would often ask Voltaire, when they were intimate, what the people said of him." After frequent repetitions of this question, Voltaire at length ventured to answer, "the people speak well of you in all other respects; but blame you for not paying your father's debts." "They shall be paid," replied the king. Voltaire secretly then went to the several creditors. He talked with them on the debts respectively owed to them. He offered them sums of inferior amount, if they would engage to let him take his chance for the whole, by endeavouring to recover it. The king soon gave orders for discharging all creditors: Voltaire availed himself of the engagements; and thus gained himself a considerable fortune. This trans-

action came to the king's knowledge; and never was forgiven."

United with Voltaire in the work of infidelity were Rousseau, Diderot, and D'Alembert; names which France will have cause to execrate for many succeeding ages, as under their hands was constructed that repository of irreligion, the French "Encyclopédie." By the instrumentality of this and other publications, which, as they came from literati twenty thousand in number, were infinitely multifarious; the minds of nobles, ecclesiastics, soldiers, and commonalty, were vitiated in principle.

There were yet other sources of political, moral, and religious corruption. From "Barruel's Memoires pour servir a l'Histoire du Jacobinism," we learn that the institution of free masonry was perverted from its original and at least innocent, if not beneficial, use; and was now made an occasion for propagating wild theories of equality and liberty. And in "Robison's Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe, carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies," we see maintained and professed by the respective members, principles which justify the
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author's title, and which cannot be repeated without creating disgust and exciting abhorrence.

It is probably to the works of Barruel and Robison that the excellent Gisborne in his "Familiar Survey of the Christian Religion" alludes, when he says, "it now appears from an accumulation of unquestionable documents, that the foreign enemies of the gospel, far from limiting their efforts to desultory and unconnected attacks, have during many years been united in one firm, widely extended, and regularly organised confederation, for the express purpose of exterminating by fraud and by force, the name of christianity from off the earth." Ed. 1799, p. 532.

"Equality" and "liberty" are terms which in every Briton raise lively sensations of the most generous kind. But then he thoroughly understands the import of those words, and affixes to them proper, because rational, ideas. He conceives the true import of equality to be this: "that every member of society is bound by equality of obligation to discharge the duties of his station, whatever it might be; and that he has an equality of claim on society, for protection to his person; security to his property; and impartial administration of justice." (Equality of obligation is a subject well discussed in a work
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of much and just reflection, entitled an "Essay on the Natural Equality of men," by Dr. Brown, of Utrecht, ch. 5. ed. 1794.) By "liberty" he means, "the power of acting according to his own discretion, so far as may be consistent with the welfare of others, and so far as may be compatible with the obedience he owes to the established laws of that society to which he belongs."

But the original propagators of "equality" and "liberty" in Germany and France interpreted these words in a very different manner. With them, "equality" was precisely that "*Æquatio bonorum*" of which Cicero says, "*quâ peste quæ potest esse major,*" (Off. 2. 21.) "than which destructive curse what can be greater"—it was that overthrow of equity, concerning which the same moralist remarks, "there is an end of all equity, if every one is not allowed to enjoy his own property."—(*Æquitatem,*) "*quæ tollitur omnis, si habere suum cuique non licet,*" (2. 22.) it was reducing all mankind to the same level, so as to destroy all subordination; and distributing equally among all the members of society every sort and kind of property and possession. And "liberty," according to their conception, was the exercise of his will in every individual, uncontrouled by any other restrictions,

tions, than those which his own mind might choose to impose. Of "equality" and "liberty" thus viewed, it may confidently be affirmed, not only that they never have existed, but also that they never can exist in human society, so long as man retains the essential and characteristic qualities of his nature. Yet in these acceptations were the words taken by the democratic party of France, who taught the multitude they were justified in asserting their natural right to such "equality" and such "liberty," by the lawless rapine, the cruel proscriptions, the horrible massacres, which soon followed the commencement, and continued to mark the progress of the revolution.

For causes, which predisposed the people of France for such a revolution, we need look no further. In the facts, respecting America and the zealots for infidelity, equality, and liberty, which have already been noticed, an attentive observer will find circumstances, the influence of which was sufficient for producing a change of sentiments throughout the French nation. And, in reality, it was under the impression of such change, that the states general met in 1789; which sufficiently accounts for the subsequent proceedings.

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The last precedent for custom to be observed in the states general was in 1614. The mode of proceeding on that occasion was, that the three orders of the state, namely, the nobles, clergy, and commons, should meet in three separate chambers, and vote by orders; not individually, or by heads, as it was termed. In 1789, the King's minister Neckar threw out a hint, that possibly there might be an union of the three orders, so that all the deputies might meet in one and the same assembly, and in this consolidated body the whole power of the states might reside. It is material in this place to observe, that what fell from Neckar was nothing more than a hint that such concentration might be possible. It did not amount even to an opinion of the propriety in adopting the measure; much less did it pretend either to urge, or command this novel system. The manner therefore in which this intimation was distantly given, left the nobles and clergy at perfect liberty either to follow, or to deviate from ancient practice, as might be judged most expedient by their own discretion. The commons however were so earnest for effecting this union, that they would not acquiesce in former precedent; but concerted a plan, which should force the other orders into a consolidation calculated for

for absorbing and annihilating the power of the nobility and clergy. Had the commons not been actuated by a spirit of usurpation, they would either have been satisfied with the constitutional form of primitive usage; or they would have proceeded no farther than to a strong declaration of their wishes, that the three orders should be united. If to those wishes the nobles and clergy had not thought it either expedient or desirable to accede, the commons on principles of national justice, could not be authorized in dictating and demanding compliance with pretensions, which immediately went to the degradation, and would ultimately tend to destroy all the weight and power of the two other respective orders. The nobles and clergy were equally with the commons under the sanction and protection of national law; and by that law were equally free as the commons, to exercise their own judgment on political and public questions; and equally concerned as the commons, to maintain the privileges derived to them from their ancestors and predecessors. But the truth is, the more violent, which was also the more numerous part of the commons, were prepared for subverting the national law, even at the expence of justice to the other orders of the state: and the
veracity

veracity of this assertion no one can doubt, who will but recollect the following particulars. Having assumed to themselves the title first of national and then of constitutional assembly, the commons proceeded thus;—they usurped to themselves legislative authority: called to their aid the physical strength of an undiscerning multitude, to intimidate, insult, and injure those members, who were moderate in their sentiments: taught the maxim that “insurrection was a sacred duty:” abolished all titles and feudal rights: published a “declaration of the rights of man,” the very first sentence of which contains a palpable and notorious falsehood: seized the whole ecclesiastical revenue, and domains of the crown: stripped the king of his prerogatives: disbanded his body guards: converted the church of St. Genevieve into a pantheon: divested the king of all his royal appendages: and obliged him to accept of a constitution imperfect and inefficient, a constitution which left him without power to protect either himself or his subjects. The fact is, they purposely degraded the king, by placing him in a condition of dependence and imbecility.

When the tiers-etat had retained the exercise of supreme power till the expiration of two years, a second, called the legislative assembly succeeded the

the national, or constituent assembly. Under this assembly, religious worship was prohibited: under the same all pedigrees were burnt: under the same, Manuel caused an oath to be taken, in a sitting of the jacobins, that every exertion should be used to purge the earth of the pest of royalty: and, to mention but one circumstance more, under the same, "from the 2d to the 9th of this month (Sept. 1792) the most horrid outrages were perpetrated without ceasing; 7605 prisoners, &c. inhumanly murdered, and the assassins publicly demanded their wages. Every house was a scene of dismay. Massacres and butcheries were committed in all the prisons and religious houses." Goudemetz thus relates the horrible event: an event which even Brissot shuddered to recollect. For, speaking of a general's being sent to the prison called the "Abbaye," he exclaims, "to the Abbaye! the very name of which place, in recalling to memory that dreadful day of 2d of September, must freeze the heart of the boldest and most virtuous man!" (Brissot to his Constituents, p. 62.)

The third legislature began its sitting on Sept. 20, 1792, and took to itself the title of national convention. It was by that convention France was decreed to be a republic: by that was heard
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with applause a discourse on atheism, pronounced by the unblushing and hardened Dupont: by that, in direct contradiction to the express letter of their new constitution, a king who was remarkable for the humanity of his disposition; who even before the meeting of the states general, had introduced many regulations for the happiness of his people; who, when accused, defended himself with such firmness and candour, as proved him innocent of the charges alleged against him; by the national convention, was such a king, and under such circumstances, which aggravated the guilt of his destroyers, murdered, most cruelly murdered! a catastrophe which happened on Jan 21st, 1793.

We have seen that the depravity of the national convention was carried to such a height of abandoned profligacy, as even to receive with marks of public approbation, an avowed profession of unqualified atheism! From a body of men thus immersed in wickedness, what crimes was there not reason to expect! Atheism, as it defies God, so it tramples on man. It smothers all the fine feelings of humanity; and steels the heart for the unappalled perpetration of the most atrocious crimes. (Let him, who doubts this, read the notes on Dr. Parr's affecting and learned spittal Sermon,

Sermon, preached in 1801; and particularly Mr. Hall's Sermon on "Modern Infidelity," preached at a Baptist meeting. It is interesting and impressive.) Three months had not elapsed, before Robertspierre demanded that liberty be established on the ruin of all aristocracies; and but few days beyond three months, when Danton proposed it should be lawful to kill any persons hostile to the revolution, wherever they might be found. In the September following, it was decreed, with a view of obliterating the sabbath, that the common æra should no longer be used; but a new mode of dividing days and years, called the republican calendar, should be adopted: and in the month of October, every external sign of religion was abolished. Massacre upon massacre in the mean time was committed: and the members of the convention by turns were the victims of their own sanguinary decrees, and brought on themselves just vengeance for their unparalleled enormities.

The reader may now form some adequate conception of those liberties, in support of which the whole world was to be convulsed. Against England, the constitution of which was insidiously undermining for the purpose of introducing such infatuated misrule, and which therefore on every

principle of self-preservation was bound to repel her most dangerous enemies, who had made revolt in all nations a common cause ; against England which moreover saw herself attacked through the sides of her allies, by whose fall France had hoped to ruin British commerce ; against this country, because she resented the insolence of the convention in attempting to disturb our internal government, and in grasping at ascendancy by violating the laws of nations ; the usurper of Seringapatam was stirred up in Asia ; and the congress, sometimes by flattery, and sometimes by menaces, solicited to take up arms of confederacy in America. Without any other cause of provocation given by the Turk, than that he retained fidelity to his friend and ally, Africa was invaded in her Egyptian provinces. And with equal injustice towards many other states, the only offence of which was their natural wish not to exchange their own for the French constitution ; not to surrender their independence for subjection to the national convention ; the continent of Europe was deluged with such streams of blood, and strewn with such heaps of carnage, as it has not witnessed since the days of the irruption by the Goths and Vandals, those “ destroyers of nations, (See Robertson’s History of Charles V. vol.

vol. i. p. 10. ed. 8vo.) in the fourth and fifth centuries.

At length, after a series of eight years, Buonaparte has checked the fury of France, and compelled it to give the world repose. The instrument, by which he has accomplished this end, is indeed of all others the least suitable to us who know the nature, and are qualified for the enjoyment of real liberty; yet is it the only one which is fit and applicable to the French nation under its present circumstances. By the irresistible power of military despotism, and by that alone, has Buonaparte crushed "the tyranny of a licentious, ferocious, and savage multitude, without laws, manners, or morals; and which, so far from respecting the general sense of mankind, insolently endeavoured to alter all the principles and opinions which have hitherto guided and contained the world; and to force them into a conformity to their views and actions." (Burke's "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs," p. 17.)

That inordinate ambition and democratic faction, after various struggles and revolutionary conflicts, should finally be subjugated under armed coercion, is a circumstance by no means extraordinary. The same event happened among our ancestors under Cromwell; the same at

Rome under Augustus Cæsar. And Polybius, who was prior to the times of the great civil wars, when speaking of ochlocracy, or government by the multitude, has this remark: "they run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divisions of land: till being reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy, they once more find a master and a monarch, and submit themselves to arbitrary sway." (Hampton's Polybius, vol. ii. p. 11.) How striking and apposite an illustration of his remark would the judicious historian have found in the people of France, had he lived in these days!

We would now quit the subject. But if even an enemy, who began to view with horror the scenes of desolating ravage opened to his sight; if a remarkable foreigner also, arguing from common principles of universal justice, can read us a lesson of moral and political instruction; "*Ne qua moræ fuerint dispendia tanti,*" let us not think delay too dearly purchased; let us not deem our time ill employed; if we hear them on the subject of ORDER, and of PROPERTY.

"I conceived (says Brissot) that this doctrine of ORDER, was as good, and more useful for the citizen who does *not* possess any thing, than for the citizen who possesses property. Because, the
first

first can live only by his constant labour; and, that there can be no constant work where there is not a constant safety, both of life and all property, to the rich. I thought then, that the truest enemies of the people and of the republic, were the anarchists, the preachers up of an *agrarian law*, the instigators of sedition." (Letter to his Constituents, p. 67.)

"The moment (says Adams) the idea is admitted in society, that PROPERTY is not as sacred as the laws of God, and that there is not a force of law and public justice to protect it, anarchy and tyranny commence. If THOU SHALT NOT COVET, and THOU SHALT NOT STEAL, were not commandments of heaven, they must be made inviolable precepts in every society, before it can be civilized or made free." (Defence of Constitutions, &c. vol. iii. lett. 6. p. 217. ed. 1778.)

Enough however of reflection. As we have proved that their unjustifiable attack on the Dutch; their treasonable endeavours to overturn our government in the time of professed peace; their premeditated design of making war on England; and their actual prior declaration of hostilities; all fix on the French the charge of aggression; let us conclude the subject with this fervent prayer: "That warned by the awful example of
 1 3 France,

France, Great Britain may never wish to depart from her constitution; nor to withdraw itself from the moral light and spiritual guidance of the CHRISTIAN religion."

Wednesday, March 31.—Mr. Manners Sutton again called the attention of the house to the Prince of Wales's claims on the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall. He wished the house would appoint a committee to enquire what sums had been paid from those revenues; and who the persons were that had received them; from the time his royal highness was born, till the period at which he was of age: and to ascertain, both in what way, part, or parts, those sums had been applied; and also, the amount of sums advanced to his royal highness himself, from the period of his coming of age, to June 5, 1795. Having thus stated the object of his motion, he introduced a learned and curious history of the several grants, by which those revenues were in different reigns vested in the several successive princes of Wales. In the course of his speech he took occasion to observe, "the present question is not between his Majesty and the Prince. The King has not received any of the revenues; nor have they in any respect been applied

plied to his use." He thought, however, the public had derived benefit from them, and therefore should reimburse his royal highness. Whatever was so reimbursed, the Prince would apply to the discharge of his debts:

The chancellor of the exchequer entered into some legal discussions respecting the investment of those revenues in the princes of Wales. He observed also, "that with respect to the question, whether the public had received the rents of the duchy, it certainly was one of extreme importance. He would ask, what proof there was that any part of the revenues had been so applied? Where were the journals of parliament in which such appropriation could be found? True it was, that in the year 1771, there had been presented an account of several sums paid during the minority of the Prince of Wales, from the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, by warrant from the lords of the treasury, and applied in aid of the civil list. The amount of these sums was £.94,000; and the head under which it was entered was that of special services. But it did not always follow, that sums paid for special services, were applied for the use of the public. He was entitled to call upon gentlemen, who contended the claim was against the public, to shew the ground on

which they founded their assertion. It was material that the real state of the advances to his royal highness out of the civil list should be known. The aggregate of these sums, in the course of twelve years, was £. 128,420. besides extraordinaries, to the amount of £. 50,552. Having contrasted the payments made out of the civil list with the sums received by his Majesty from the duchy of Cornwall, according to an account then lying on the table, he stated the balance in favour of his royal highness to be of very considerable amount. He observed, the house must be highly gratified, by being assured that the Prince of Wales had declared his intention of applying in payment of his debts, whatever should be found due to him. He was one of those, who did not think a sufficient allowance had been made to his royal highness in the first instance, when he came of age. With respect to the debts contracted by his royal highness, from his own personal knowledge he could undertake to say, there never was a subject on which had been made more gross and scandalous misrepresentations, than had passed on them. To return, however, to the question of right: he admitted, that a guardian was not at liberty to expend the income of a minor, without duly accounting for
such

such expenditure ; but in the present case it was necessary to consider the circumstances, which attended the creation of the duchy of Cornwall. When his Majesty, King Edward the Third, expressed his intention of detaching from the crown the most valuable part of his possession, as an establishment to support the dignity of his son, the Prince of Wales, he never could have intended to put him into the possession and receipt of such immense revenues, and at the same time support him during his minority. Under this view of the case, and under other circumstances attending it, he did not think himself justified in recommending the adoption of the motion before the house ; even if it were not exceptionable, as however it was, on account of its combining two objects in their nature distinct. If in this country there existed a wrong, the law provided means of redress. It ought, therefore, to be ascertained, whether the wrong, of which his royal highness complained, was a wrong for which there was, or was not, a legal remedy. If redress could not be had elsewhere, then application to parliament would be proper. But till an appeal for redress had been made before a legal tribunal, competent to grant it, he felt it impossible for him, consistently with his duty, to sanction a motion which

which called on the house to interfere judicially, to interfere in a way by no means consonant with that which was its primary and distinguishing character, its legislative capacity. Nothing but necessity could justify parliament in judicial interference. Under this conception, he should conclude by moving the order of the day."

Mr. Erskine supported the original motion.

The master of the rolls observed, there was to this motion one radical objection, which no degree of ingenuity could remove. "It proposed to erect a committee of that house, into a tribunal for the discussion of a point of law, and thus to confound the legislative and judicial authority; a connection, which by the precedent it would establish, must be productive of incalculable mischief." That house had properly no concern with the subject; it was altogether a legal question, for the consideration of the courts below; and no motive of respect or regard for any individual could justify the house in interfering with it. This was the only cause of his opposition to the motion. It was either a claim of right; or, it was not. It could have no middle denomination."

When Mr. Fox had replied, the attorney general read the words of the charter, by which
the

the duchy of Cornwall was originally granted to the Prince of Wales; thence proving that the grant was made by Edward III. for the maintenance and support of the princely dignity and state of the Prince of Wales.

The chancellor of the exchequer's motion for the order of the day, was put—

Ayes 160 | Noes 103—Majority 57;
of course Mr. Sutton's was lost.

A deputation from those gentlemen, who were disposed to bid for the ensuing loan, waited this day on Mr. Addington. The lists were not fewer than seven; a number highly creditable to the minister, and to the country.

The terms of the loan proposed were,
For every £.100 sterling—65 Consol. Annuity.
60 Red. Ditto.

The bidding to be made on the smallest quantity of a three per cent, deferred stock, to be incorporated with the consols, on Jan. 5, 1808, and to bear no interest till that time. The reason is, that in 1808, the short annuities fall in, amount-

ing to - - - - - £. 418,995

and in the course of 1806 and 1807,

Exchequer Annuities fall in, to the

amount of - - - - - 82,000
making

making a sum of more than £.500,000. for which taxes were already provided, and which might be a provision for this new stock.

The idea of deferred stock, is thought to have been borrowed from the American government.

The minister intimated his design of departing in some degree from Mr. Pitt's principle with regard to the sinking funds. It was originally proposed, that when the old sinking fund should amount to four millions, all the growing produce beyond that, should be applied to the repeal of the most burthenfome taxes. It is now intended, that the old and new sinking funds shall be consolidated, and proceed without any abatement of taxes, till the national debt is annihilated; an event, which may be effected in the course of 45 years, even although we should in the interval borrow an additional £.100,000,000.

That the national debt should be so far diminished, as that taxes may be lighter, and the country be enabled on any emergency either to raise supplies within the year, or to borrow on advantageous terms, is a blessing most earnestly to be desired. But that the national debt should ever be extinguished, is much to be deprecated. For in the first place, monied men would find it difficult to substitute a mode on which to employ

ploy their capitals, without trouble to themselves or risk to their fortunes. In the next place, commerce, and consequently wealth, would rapidly decline: for industry, which is the main spring, the life, and soul of commerce, would slacken as commodities and necessaries became cheaper through exemption from taxes. Then again, and a circumstance of very weighty consideration it is, the middle ranks of society would be much more indifferent to the welfare of the country. In those ranks we commonly find the creditors of the state. So long as the state is indebted to its subjects, those subjects are interested in the support of it. But take away the cause, which excites in the individual an anxiety for public welfare as connected with his own immediate prosperity, and he feels little concerned for its situation. It was said of Ireland "the misfortune of that country is, it has no national debt." The remark appeared paradoxical: yet upon examination it was found pregnant with political wisdom. It implied, "the subjects of Ireland are not individually interested in its welfare."

Friday, April 2.—Notice was given at the Stock-exchange, that the sum wanted by way of loan for the services of the current year, would be

be 26 million and a half: of which, one million and a half was to be raised in Ireland, for the service of that country. As the loan was for less money than had been expected, stocks rose one per cent.

Sunday, April 4.—On this day died the right hon. lord Kenyon; who from the year 1788 to the present time, filled the dignified and important station of lord chief justice in the King's Bench. It has been said of him, he never could be tempted from his business to see a play, and that he never had been a spectator of any one theatrical exhibition. This is a rare instance of assiduity, if the fact were really as it is related. But however that may be, of his ability he gave very evident proofs during a long course of practice as a pleader. When he was advanced to judicial rank, first as master of the rolls in 1784, and then as chief justice, he acquitted himself with the most impartial and inflexible integrity. Just, upright, and virtuous himself, he would neither bow to the depravities of fashion, nor bend to the iniquities of vice. That, which the Greek historian required in his Egyptian judge, was found in lord Kenyon, "He carried about him the image of TRUTH impressed on his very soul." (Ælian Var: Hist. 14. 34.)

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Monday,

Monday, April 5.—With Messrs. Smith, Payne, and Smith, who of the various competitors agreed to take the smallest quantity of deferred stock, were settled these terms of the loan, viz.

For every £.100 sterl-	£.	s.	d.	
ing - - - - -	65	0	0	Consols.
	60	0	0	Reduced.
	6	19	3	Deferred Stock.
	131	19	3	

The minister, on the same day, communicated these terms to the house of commons. In submitting which he said, “I should consider myself as unnecessarily engaging the time of the committee, if I detained them too long upon a subject which affords such solid grounds of general satisfaction. But I cannot help congratulating the country on the substantial proofs of confidence thus given by the monied interest; and I feel myself called upon to observe, that it is to the energy and perseverance uniformly displayed by this house, supported by the spirit and exertions of a great people, that the public are indebted for this confidence.”

The WAYS and MEANS were brought forward. The new stock, for which interest must be provided, was—

Stock,

Stock, created by loan	-	£.30,351,375	0
— by funding exchequer bills in			
the course of the winter	-	11,138,062	10
— charged upon the income tax,			
now to be repealed	- -	56,445,000	0
			97,934,437 10

The interest on which amounts to 3,211,202 0

For the payment of which interest were proposed additional taxes on

Malt, hops, and beer, producing	-	£. 2,000,000	
Assessed taxes	- - - - -	1,000,000	
Duty on exports and imports	- -	1,000,000	
			4,000,000

Which would leave a surplus of nearly 800,000 the application of which might afterwards be considered.

On mentioning the repeal of the income tax, Mr. Addington declared he should be extremely sorry if he could suppose any gentleman would impute to him any unworthy motive, by which his conduct was actuated. He assured the house the step he was about to take in this particular, was the result of his own thoughts. The conclusions he had formed for a considerable time, he had not confined within his own breast; but had communicated them to others, who, if necessary, would

would attest his assertion: and he was sure the hon. gentleman opposite to him (Mr. Tierney) would do him the justice to say, that in January last he spoke with reserve on that subject, and begged that no inference might be drawn as to the course which might be thought advisable for the executive government to pursue. All he said, or meant to say in January, was to this effect; that the income tax was a measure much too important for the house to relinquish during a continuance of the war; and he believed the hon. gentleman clearly understood him, when he made this intimation. He should be sorry also, if the measure he was about to adopt, should be construed into a change of his opinion respecting the policy of continuing the tax had the war continued. Upon that subject, he knew he differed from many hon. members of the house, for whose judgment he had great respect, and for whose principles he had great esteem: he differed also from many very worthy and intelligent individuals in the country. He was however bound to declare his opinion; and to add, it was his entire and thorough conviction, that it was to the wisdom whence originated the income tax, and to the firmness, which induced the house to persist in it, that the country was indebted for

the comfort we now enjoyed: for, that system it was, which enabled us to surmount the difficulties, with which during the last three years we were obliged to struggle. The same conviction of its efficient utility as a war tax, induced him to recommend the removal of this burthen from the public in time of peace. A tax of this nature should be reserved for the most pressing occasions: occasions, which he trusted were far distant, but which however might hereafter occur, and for them therefore we should always be ready to provide. In that sense of the matter, he should always look to this mode of raising supplies; to be carried into effect, not indeed under the present regulations, but by some, though not very dissimilar alterations. It was worthy the credit, it was worthy the character of this country, to look forward to such a resource, in the painful event of being compelled to struggle for its honour, and to maintain its independence against hostile force; and at a time, when, if called upon to exert all its powers and to put forth all its faculties, the country would not be found wanting to itself.

When Mr. Addington had expressed himself thus fully on the income tax, and had laid before the committee the various articles for which supplies

plies were necessary, and the **WAYS** and **MEANS** by which such supplies could be raised, he concluded a long financial speech in words to this effect: "I look back on the conduct of this house and of the country, during the last nine years, with pride and satisfaction: I look forward, with hope: I am convinced, that by prudence and vigilant œconomy (respecting which however I make no professions, desiring only to be judged of by my conduct) I am convinced that by a firm and temperate system we may promise to ourselves security and comfort. This must be the wish of every member in this house, and of every man in this country, who feels an ardour for national welfare. To ensure our advantages, we should adopt, to use the words of my noble friend, the secretary of state (lord Hawkesbury) a system of conciliation and firmness; by which we may preserve the blessings of peace. They are to be preserved, not by insulting the honour of other nations; not by invading their securities; not by violating or questioning the independence of other nations; but by feeling the blessings of peace at home, and by being prepared to vindicate and maintain them. Under these impressions, I am fully persuaded that this system duly followed, will continue to afford a well-grounded hope of

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tranquillity

tranquillity and ease, as well as prosperity and independence. The evils of war, I hope, and am confident, have ceased to operate on us. This consideration however, should not induce us to forget the maxims of our true policy. I mean not that we should follow a system of jealousy; *that* I trust we shall never pursue; but I do recommend a well directed and well regulated system of prudence and caution. It is by this, and this only, we can continue to enjoy those blessings in the possession of which our country is so eminently happy."

Mr. Whitbread reprobated the income tax; disapproved of the additional duty on beer; and contended, that no one object, for which we had entered on the late war, had been attained.

To this last assertion Mr. Addington replied, "they had attained the objects of the war; for they had gained all they had not lost."

Mr. Pitt defended the income tax; and adduced it as an instance of national prosperity—"that at the end of nine years of a war unexampled in its nature and extent, we had made a loan for twenty-five millions, at the very same price of stocks at which, in the year 1793, the first year of the war, we made a loan for only four millions."

Tuesday,

Tuesday, April 6.—Thanks to the army, navy, militia, and fencibles were moved, in the house of lords by lord Hobart; in the commons by Mr. Addington. “He rose to offer certain resolutions, which he was confident would receive the unanimous concurrence of that house, as the object of them was to render a just tribute of national gratitude to the exertions of those brave men, who had been fighting for their country abroad; and to the no less meritorious, though perhaps less brilliant services of those, who with arms in their hands, had defended it at home. He would make no distinction between the army and navy: the zeal of both had been equal, the glory of both was un sullied. Yet if thanks were conferred on the army and navy alone, the house might still be charged with ingratitude; for the merit of the fencibles would be omitted, though their conduct in the late war was entitled to every praise. They had enlarged the extent of their services in proportion to the public exigences: and instead of limiting their aid to the immediate defence of England alone, they had voluntarily offered to give their assistance in Ireland; and indeed even in the remotest parts, where their attendance and efforts might be thought requisite and useful. The militia also,

a class of the military, which the country had always regarded with particular affection, had never at any former period so highly entitled itself to that affection. He would not speak of those privations, which through the course of a nine years war the officers must have endured, in a long absence from their respective homes, and a total neglect of their private affairs. In former wars, the militia had acquired marked honours: but in that which was just terminated, their merits had taken a wider range. Ireland attested their zeal; and the country was indebted to them for a most important and seasonable discovery—the Irish rebellion). Convinced, as he was, that the house appreciated the services of these men equally high as himself did, and that nothing, which he could say, could add to the sense entertained of them, he would content himself with moving in one general and comprehensive form, “that the thanks of the house be given to the army and navy, for their meritorious conduct during the war.”

Lord Hawkesbury seconded the motion. He was persuaded, that however gentlemen might differ in opinion respecting the war itself, yet all would agree in allowing there never was a period, in which British valour was more eminently conspicuous,

spicuous, or was displayed with more honour to the country. He should waste the time of the house, if in that view he compared the late with former wars. He should content himself with saying, that in no war had the exertions of the navy been so brilliant and successful. The exertions of the army likewise, at every season of the war, had been no less the subjects of commendation and praise. There had been no opportunity for these exertions on which they had not gained great honour to their country. He would mention, with particular exultation, their exertions during the last campaign in Egypt; exertions which had most materially conduced to the procuring of peace.

The chancellor of the exchequer again spoke. In mentioning the militia, he hoped the house would not conceive either that he meant to omit, or that he had forgotten the militia of Ireland. They had acted in the most loyal, spirited, and constitutional manner, during the whole of the rebellion; and by their ready offer to come from Ireland to this country, when England was threatened with invasion, they had deserved the warmest thanks of every person, who wished well to both kingdoms. The same tribute of praise was due also to the loyalty, activity, and zeal,

which stimulated the exertions of the Irish yeomanry.

The thanks of the house were then voted “to the officers of the army, navy, marines, the several corps of militia, yeomanry, volunteer cavalry and infantry, both in England and Ireland.” To which vote, it was added, “that the house do highly approve, and acknowledge the services of the non-commissioned officers and privates, in all the said corps; and it is desired that the same should be communicated to them by the several officers belonging to each corps.”

Wednesday, April 7.—Sir William Scott moved that the house should go into a committee on the statute of Henry VIII. enforcing the residence of the clergy.

In a speech of much learning, clearness, and candour, he entered into a history of the principle and policy, on which was originally grounded the act, imposing a penalty on clergymen, who were non-resident for the space of one month in a year. He observed, “it was a law severe and unjust in the extreme. At the period in which it was enacted, the penalty was equal to the annual value of very many benefices throughout the country; and consequently on many occasions,
if

if a minister, who had conducted himself with the utmost propriety, and with the most conscientious attention to the duties of his office for eleven months successively, should, during the other month, have been necessarily called from his residence by considerations of any, even the most interesting and endearing nature, he must have forfeited the whole annual amount of his living. A statute, which at its commencement had been capable of producing such an effect was one which must have been founded on an unwise principle of legislation, and ought no longer to be sanctioned by parliament. The clergy had at all times been the warmest friends, and the most zealous supporters of the state: at no time more so, than at the present. In the body of clergy, were men of genius, men of learning, men of elegant education; many too were connected with the first families in the kingdom. Such was the character and respectability of all, that they should not be subjected to harsh and irritating processes of law. It would be more advisable, that the regulation of such a body should be left to the superiors of that body; who might be invested with a power somewhat discretionary; yet not so discretionary as to be without controul, partly by limitations to be specified

specified in a new act, and partly by appeal to other and higher powers."

Of appreciating the beneficial and salutary effects derived to the nation from the body of its clergy, there seldom has been presented an opportunity more ample or serious, than in the late conflict between passion and principle, ignorance and wisdom, sophistry and reason, iniquity and justice, anarchy and order, atheism and religion. That the clergy stood firm in support of the more loyal, constitutional, right, and sacred cause; that by their immediate example, and immediate advice, they encouraged others, each within his own sphere, to resist with perseverance the progress of intellectual, moral, and political evil, many have acknowledged. But there is yet another instance of signal service, which deserves to be noticed. They had been previously instrumental in establishing the ground-work of all that sound judgment and unshaken firmness, which alike dignified and preserved our legislature. The clergy are the chief conductors of education. Under them were trained to lofty sentiment, virtuous actions, and genuine patriotism, the greater part of those illustrious senators, who under providence, and in cooperation with the energy and disposition of the country, by their counsels and laws delivered

livered us from the devastations of democracy, and from subjugation to the savage tyranny of enemies insatiable as they were merciless. The foundation of that sense, discretion, rectitude, spirit, boldness, concern for national safety, love for their king and country, and resolution in national defence, which under the most trying circumstances those senators displayed, was strengthened at that period of their life, when the clergy were their instructors: instructors, not after the specious but feeble mode of substituting frivolous for solid and manly attainments of MIND; but in the more ultimately beneficial and vigorous plan; the plan, which by GRADUALLY communicating knowledge in literature, in science, and CHRISTIAN religion; by giving the mind leisure for digesting what has been taught; by frequently exercising its thinking and reflecting faculties, by maturing and confirming its various powers; prepared and sent into public life some of our greatest statesmen; and we trust, in despite of fashion for most contemptible *prettyneesses*, will continue to send forth thousands of men, enlightened in their understandings, sagacious in their foresight, sober in their judgments, industrious in business, upright in their views, firm and sound in their principles

civil

civil and religious, and exemplary in their manners; such men, as will be qualified to fill every department of the state, with credit to themselves, and advantage to the nation.

Not unconnected with the subjects now immediately before us are some passages in a pamphlet entitled, "Who'll change Old Lamps for New?" Printed in 1799. The moral uses arising to society from the ministers of religion in ALL persuasions, are there briefly mentioned.

Nor incompetent to estimate or feeble to defend the systems of education established in our best schools and universities, was the learned and animated, though anonymous, writer of a note on a verse in "The Pursuits of Literature."

"I would call (says he) the rising youth of this country, to the intense, and fervent, and unremitting study of the ancient classical writers, (whom I need not name) as their primary choice. I call upon them to have the courage, to be ignorant of many subjects, and of many authors, at their inestimable age. Never to pretend to study, in their first academical years, what they design as the ultimate end of their labours, I mean, their profession. Their whole business is to lay the foundation of knowledge original, sound, and strong. In particular, the study of
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the law, *as such*, should never be entered upon, even *in limine*, before the first degree in arts is obtained. The first volume indeed of Blackstone's Commentaries may be read, in the same manner as Robertson's Introduction to his History of Charles the Fifth. They are *chef d'œuvres* in their kind, and form a part of general knowledge. The specifick study of the law in the university, at that early age, confines and cripples the faculties. Such a student may arrive at mere knowledge, as a special pleader, but he will never be illustrious, or ornamental to his profession. When a man has once entered upon any profession whatever, his education has in fact ceased. They, who by a patient continuance, and undiverted attention to accademical studies alone, have sought for the original materials of science and of solid fame, have seldom failed in their great pursuit." The author of this annotation professes, and indeed proves himself to be, to the universities "a friend who believed, or rather who knew them to be capable, in their high functions, to maintain and adorn the principles of happiness, and safety, and learning, and comfort, and hope, and good conscience; against foppery, and false science, and the degradation of the intellect, and frippery, and pompous nonsense, and the insolence
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of sciolists, and the neglect of good writing and of good manners. A friend who with no false enthusiasm, would secure the permanency of these ILLUSTRIOUS INSTITUTIONS, with every monument of ancient arts, and eloquence, and science, consecrated by the ministry of religion to the stability of the state." (Edit. sixth, p. 264.)

Friday, April 9.—The chancellor of the exchequer addressed the chairman of the committee. " Sir, I rise in pursuance of a notice given by me some few days since, and move for leave to bring in a bill to restrain for a time to be limited, the payment of cash by the bank of England. I am aware, sir, it is impossible to submit, without explanation, a motion which is to have the effect of imposing any restraint or obstruction with regard to the ordinary functions of an establishment like the bank: but I have the satisfaction of being convinced, that the measure cannot furnish the most timid man in the house with a pretence for supposing, that the bank does not possess within itself the most ample means of satisfying to the fullest extent the demands which may be made on it, by the payment of *specie*. It cannot be necessary for me to inform the house, that the rate of exchange between this country and foreign parts is

is disadvantageous to ourselves. It cannot be necessary for me to state, that the export trade has been for some months at a stand; and that a considerable time must elapse, before the country can have the benefit of the returns of the export trade, even after it is restored to those channels, into which it is rapidly throwing itself. It cannot be necessary for me to prove, that while the rate of exchange is disadvantageous to us, an augmentation of the circulating cash would create a trade highly injurious to the interest and commerce of this country. It is well known that for several months past there has been carrying on a trade of purchasing guineas with a view to the exportation of them. It is on these grounds, viz. the circumstances belonging to the export trade; the impossibility of having those returns, which in England are many months before they are made, on the export trade; and the prevention of the mischief that would arise from the exportation of coin; it is on these grounds I think it my duty to submit the expediency of continuing the restriction with regard to the payments of the bank. There is, sir, another consideration, which presses strongly on my mind, and which, I am persuaded, must be felt equally by the house and by the country. It is, that the entire command over all
foreign

foreign markets, which we have for some time past experienced, cannot be expected to continue in the same degree. Competition must exist; and it is important at the commencement of such competition, that every facility should be given to the merchants of this country. By continuing the restriction on the bank for some time longer, the accommodation afforded to merchants by the bank, with respect to discount, will be continued. I am not aware of any inconvenience that can possibly arise from continuing it. We have had the satisfaction resulting from the experience of difficulties for three or four years; we have had the satisfaction of seeing, that during that period the credit of the bank has undergone no diminution whatever. Bank notes have maintained their reputation, and have been every where received cheerfully and readily. I know that gentlemen, both in this house and in the country, entertain a diversity of opinion respecting the mode in which the bank should be permitted to renew its money payments. Some are desirous the bank should pay in cash for notes of small denomination: but till there is a full and abundant supply of cash by opening the bank entirely, it is extremely convenient to afford circulation to one pound and two pound notes. By the payment of them in *specie* would be introduced a
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general anxiety for obtaining cash at the bank. Notes of 1,000*l.* and 500*l.* would be changed for notes of 1*l.* and 2*l.* in order that these smaller notes may be immediately changed for cash. The effect of making the bank pay in cash for small notes, would be that of giving rise to the possibility of an unlimited demand on the bank, by exchanging large notes for small, and then taking the small entirely out of circulation by demanding payment of them in *specie*. I have already said it is a measure rendered necessary by the rate of exchange, and the state of our export trade, that payment in *specie* should be restricted. I shall only add, that it will be prudent to wait, till we see the consequences and are enabled to judge of the effects, which will result from the peace we have just concluded; to wait till our commercial relations are formed on the continent; till we know what are the political and commercial relations in which different countries stand with reference to each other; before we take a step, which if hastily taken, would be productive of much inconvenience and much injury. I therefore conclude by moving, "that the restrictions imposed by the 37th of his Majesty, with regard to payments of the notes of the bank of England, in cash, be further continued, for a time to be limited."

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Sir Robert Peele and general Gascoine concurred in opinion with Mr. Addington.

Monday, April 12.—Sir Francis Burdett made a motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the late ministry. His speech, which was conceived in general terms of reprehension, was seconded by Mr. Sturt. Lord Temple replied. “He vindicated the late ministers on the subject of the Irish rebellion, and that of their proceedings with regard to peace. The income tax, he contended, had been the salvation of the country, by calling forth its energy. He was happy indeed the situation of our affairs was such, as to admit of its repeal; still however he looked forward to it as one of the resources, to which we might resort on any future extraordinary occasion. He hoped it would always be reserved as a war tax. It had been relinquished at a period, when taxes, which were now to be substituted in its place, would fall with the least pressure. He recollected however it was a tax, for which the city of London had called; and which, upon the suggestion of commercial men, had been adopted as the best and most proper method of raising a large sum of money. As to the general propriety of the motion before the house, he should only add, he thought

thought it was to the right hon. gentleman (Mr. Pitt) who was intended to be affected by it, that the people of this country were indebted for every blessing they now enjoyed; and their representatives, for the preservation of their right to sit in that house. Had not his gigantic plans, his vigour, and his abilities, called forth that confidence on the part of the people, with which they so long relied on him, instead of being in a situation to return thanks that they were still governed by the best of Kings, they would have fallen under the lash, and have been groaning under the yoke of a foreign invader."

Mr. Archdale and lord Belgrave spoke in defence and praise of Mr. Pitt.

The original motion was lost. The votes were 246 against it; 39 for it.—Majority 207 against it.

Perhaps no civil measure of internal policy contributed more to save our constitution, than the sedition bill; the chief provision of which corresponded with the principles even of republican government, for it existed in the laws of Rome during her most free days. "MAJORES VESTRI (says Posthumius) NE VOS QUIDEM, nisi quum aut vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causâ exercitus eductus esset, aut plebi concilium tribuni

edixissent, aut aliquis ex magistratibus ad concionem vocâisset, FORTE TEMERE COIRE VOLUERUNT : et, UBICUNQUE MULTITUDO ESSET, IBI ET LEGITIMUM RECTOREM MULTITUDINIS CENSEBANT DEBERE ESSE." (Liv. 39. 15.) The application of this apposite and remarkable passage was first made by the very worthy and able Mr. Archdeacon MOORE, of Exeter, in his Discourse of 1801.

Tuesday, April 13.—Accounts from Paris stated these particulars. Monsieur Portalis, on the 5th inst. presented to the legislative body the "Concordat" with the pope, and also the ecclesiastical laws, which had been framed on the ground of this solemn convention. He then delivered a long speech on the occasion. He stated the motives which had led to the measure in question. He pointed out the superior excellence of the christian, to every other religious system; its divine origin; the simplicity and force of its tenets; the purity of its morals; and the benefits which had flowed from the practice of it, in every quarter of the globe. He expatiated on the nature and happy influence of religion upon the conduct of man in society. He recommended the catholic religion, under new regulations, as
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the best form which could be adopted by France, revered as it had been by public opinion, sanctioned by the experience of ages, and congenial as it was to the manners and customs of the people. The protestant form however was to be protected also by the government.

To every one, who recollects the horrible impieties, which prevailed in France under the system of democratic fury and avowed atheism, this revival of the christian religion must appear a circumstance most highly important; and is particularly memorable, as a blessing immediately arising from the return and establishment of peace.

Wednesday, April 14.—The house resolved itself into a committee upon the bill for consolidating certain acts of parliament for the redemption of the national debt. The chancellor of the exchequer stated the outlines of his plan. The great object was to consolidate the public debt, and to consolidate the redemption of it. For that end, two purposes were to be effected. 1st, To provide for the present moment; and 2^{dly}, To accelerate the redemption of the debt. When the whole amount of the national debt was considered, he would not hesitate to say it could not

be viewed without some anxiety, nor without a corresponding wish to lighten and entirely remove it. The amount of the permanent taxes was little short of thirty millions; and the capital of the debt amounted to four hundred and eighty-eight millions. He had however the satisfaction to state, that by consolidating the two establishments for redeeming the national debt, the one instituted in 1786, the other in 1792, they would be enabled to pay off the whole of the national debt in forty-three years and two months. The sum also of 1,500,000 *l.* would by this measure be left as a surplus; being the difference of interest after paying off the four and five per cents. The advantages, which would arise to the public he had fairly stated, and the object under consideration was to apply for relief to those measures, which held out such solid and pleasing resources. With respect to the two sinking funds of 1786 and 1792, they would, if consolidated, produce 5,667,000 *l.* which, in the course of the time specified, would be equal to the extinction of a debt one hundred times as much; or to the extinction of five hundred and sixty millions; and that operation, as it evidently appeared from the tables made out for the information of the house, would then leave an excess of eighty millions above the whole amount of the national debt, as
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it existed at the present moment. He had upon this important subject nothing more to observe; he therefore begged permission to propose the following resolutions:

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum applicable, under the 26th and 32d of the King, on the 1st of February 1802, to the extinction of the national debt, together with 200,000*l.* per annum, would, without the annuities which will expire, extinguish the whole in forty-five years, being a shorter time than the two funds, if kept separately upon their present established footing would do, together with 200,000*l.* per annum, and one per cent. upon the 97,000,000*l.* funded this session of parliament.

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the sum of 200,000*l.* to be paid annually, under the 26th of the King, to the commissioners for the extinction of the national debt, from the 5th of April, 1803, be vested in commissioners, to be governed by other regulations.

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the funds under the 26th and 32d of the King, should be consolidated, and be continually laid out at compound interest, till the whole national debt is extinguished.

“ Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the annuities which shall expire, shall be applicable to the public service, in such manner as parliament shall provide.”

The chairman did not read these resolutions; but was immediately ordered to report progress, and ask leave to sit again.—The report to be brought up to-morrow.

Saturday, April 17.—The gazette announces, that the dignity of a baron is conferred on Sir Edward Law, late the attorney general, and now chief justice in the court of King's Bench. His name, style, and title, is baron Ellenborough, of Ellenborough, in the county of Cumberland. This successor of lord Kenyon is a man of unblemished character, great mental powers, and profound legal knowledge.

Tuesday, April 20.—Le Clerc, the French general at St. Domingo, describes minutely a campaign of five days, in which the French troops encountered difficulties almost insurmountable. The Black troops disputed every step. In their retreat, they burned seven towns. Touffaint's cruelty excited horror and indignation. “ Language (says the general) does not furnish

furnish an epithet for the ferocity of Touffaint. He has butchered more than 10,000 of the inhabitants, Blacks, Whites, and Mulattoes. In our different expeditions we collected nearly 8,000 individuals, whom he had devoted to slaughter."

Wednesday, April 21.—Several persons were introduced at the levee, and kissed hands on account of promotion. Among others, the hon. Spencer Percival, on his appointment to the office of attorney general. As a lawyer, Mr. Percival is respected at the bar; as a senator, though he has seldom spoken except on great occasions, which of course do not occur frequently, yet whenever he has delivered his sentiments, he has had the satisfaction of experiencing the attention, not of the house only, but of the public also, to his clear and forcible reasoning.

On the same day, the chancellor of the exchequer moved the committee for the bank restriction bill. He proposed the blank in that bill should be filled up with "the 1st of March, 1803." He wished gentlemen to understand, that the bill before them did not originate in any suspicion about the sufficiency either of the bank,
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or the directors, to resume the former practice of paying in *specie*; but it proceeded merely from grounds of political expediency. That the bank stood on a firm and solid foundation, he was perfectly confident; and he was happy in being able to assure the committee, that on the part of the directors there was not the least reluctance, but rather a readiness to issue *specie* as formerly, should parliament think it proper and necessary. The only question for them now to consider was, what period they would fix for the duration of the bill. It appeared evident that it should continue in force, until those causes, which now rendered the existence of it necessary, were likely to cease. Our export trade had for some time back been almost at a stand, and that produced the balance of exchange against us. He doubted not however that the same trade would soon revive, and that in consequence of the peace, we should find new markets for our manufactures. Yet it was to be taken into the account, that returns to those exports were not to be expected, at least such returns as would materially benefit our commerce, within a shorter period than that of a year. To this therefore they should make up their minds; because sooner than this, it was not probable that the evil, which this bill was to counteract,

counteract, it was not probable a disadvantageous exchange would be entirely removed. Prudence and policy therefore pointed out the necessity of the restriction proposed for the time specified, in order to prevent the exportation of bullion, a species of traffic, which however lucrative to individuals, would nevertheless be extremely injurious to the nation. He was aware, that some gentlemen were of opinion, this bill should be limited to five or six weeks after the meeting of the next parliament; but of that he disapproved, because it was impossible to ascertain the time at which that parliament might meet; it might perhaps be a time more early, than that in which it would be wise to allow the expiration of the bill. Besides, if parliament should meet in November, it would then be competent to weigh the merits of this measure, and consider how far the causes, by which it was now justified, had ceased to operate. Indeed to this enquiry it would be fully competent, whenever it should meet; on that ground therefore, no inconvenience could possibly arise from agreeing to the period, which he proposed; much however might result from adopting that, to which he had alluded as more proper in the conception of other gentlemen.

men. An hon. gentleman (Mr. Tierney) had expressed a wish that a clause should be introduced into this bill, authorizing the bank to resume its practice of paying in *specie*, by degrees, according to the discretion of the directors. To that Mr. Addington objected. He was not willing to give them in that respect a greater power, than what had been granted them by former bills; which was, that upon five days notice to the speaker of the house of commons, they might pay any debt or demand in *specie*: such was the construction put upon the bill, by those who were enabled to carry it into effect; and beyond that power he was not disposed to go. Nor did he wish to place the bank in an invidious point of view, as though stoppage of payments in *specie* originated in its own reluctance or insufficiency; an effect this, which would result from the proposition made by the hon. gentleman: it was much more eligible that the power of this restriction should rest in the hands of parliament, which was the fittest judge to decide on the grounds of that political expediency, which originally produced, and now urged a continuance of the measure.

Mr. Dent maintained, that the credit of the
bank

bank never stood higher than at present. He said there was now a profit of five per cent. on every guinea exported from this country; and that circumstance alone was sufficient to call for the continuance of the present bill.

The committee agreed to Mr. Addington's motion.

Thursday, April 22.—The Paris papers announce a very interesting event. On Sunday the 18th Buonaparte issued a proclamation for the re-establishment of religion. "A senseless policy (says the proclamation) strove to stifle religious dissensions, under the wrecks of altars, and the ruins of religion herself. At the voice of that policy, ceased those pious solemnities, at which citizens called each other by the endearing name of brethren. The dying no longer heard that consoling voice which summons Christians to a better life: and God himself seemed exiled from nature. All the passions were let loose; morality was without support; misery without hope in futurity. To stop that disorder, it was necessary again to fix religion on her basis; and this could not be done, but through measures acknowledged by religion itself."

Early

Early on that Sunday, the cannon were fired, and the religious ordinance proclaimed. The chief consul and all officers in civil departments attended at Notre Dame. High mass was performed. In those parts of the service, where the congregation bow, the soldiers presented arms. A sermon was preached by the bishop of Paris, the very person who preached before Louis XVI. at his coronation.

That in all this there is more of military display than the mild genius of christianity requires or allows, we who are blessed with the enjoyment of pure religion, cannot hesitate to acknowledge. Still however, if we recollect what for several years past has been the public disregard of all religion in the French nation, to every man who loves christianity, who loves morals, who loves civilization, who loves social order, the very appearance of any thing like an attempt to restore the sabbath and religious service, must be an occasion of more than ordinary satisfaction. The *substance* of religion must be combined with some *forms* of religion, if it means to produce any effect on the bulk of mankind; and those *forms* must recur on stated seasons not far distant from each other, if they are to operate forcibly
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on the passions. The appointment therefore of the sabbath, that is of one day in every seven, for religious solemnities, is wisely instituted; because by frequent recurrence is kept alive in the mind, a due sense of what is meant by those *forms*. To say nothing of that divine command, which enjoins the observance of one day in seven, and which in its substantial part we are bound by moral obligation always to obey; even humanly speaking, the institution of the sabbath is of all others most salutary to society, where strict regard is paid to attendance on divine worship, and where the day is spent for the most part in sacred reading, calm reflection, sober recreation, intermission of ordinary amusements, communicating religious instruction to family and domestics. Seen also in another point of view, the sabbath is meant as a blessing to the community at large: it is intended that rest should thereby be given to the laborious, one day in seven. The French decade, which aimed at suppressing the sabbath, was founded in merciless cruelty; for it robbed the industrious of that cessation from labour on every seventh day, which the christian sabbath, in its benevolence, enjoins masters to grant: would we could add, and which in every christian

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tian country masters actually do grant!" But, when we see the servants of many families *habitually* (for it is the constant habit, and not the occasional necessity, which constitutes the culpability) when we see them *habitually* engaged in the business of crowded visits, not less on the sabbath, than on other days, we cannot say in truth, that due consideration for the comfort, not to mention the religious improvement, of those servants, is there paid by masters.

In his lectures, so commendable for the motives on which they were begun, and so valuable for the information and instruction with which they abound, bishop Porteus has this remark:

"This temporary suspension of labour, this refreshment and relief from incessant toil, is most graciously allowed even to the brute creation, by the great Governor of the universe, whose mercy extends over *all* his works. It is the boon of heaven itself. It is a small drop of comfort thrown into their cup of misery; and to wrest from them this only privilege, this sweetest consolation of their wretched existence, is a degree of inhumanity for which there wants a name." (Lect. x. p. 257. vol. i. ed. 1802.)

Monday,

Monday, April 26.—On this day was duly signed the following proclamation:

By the KING.—A Proclamation.

GEORGE R.

WHEREAS a definitive treaty of peace and friendship between us, the French republic, his Catholic Majesty, and the Batavian republic, was concluded at Amiens, on the 27th day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have been duly exchanged: in conformity thereunto, we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions. And we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure, that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably as well by sea as land, and in all places whatever; strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly.

Given at our court at Windsor, the 26th day of April, 1802, in the forty-second year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

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There was signed also a proclamation, appointing a general thanksgiving to ALMIGHTY GOD for the blessing of renewed peace, to be solemnized on the FIRST DAY OF JUNE.

Monday, April 26.—Mr. Addington informed a large body of monied men from the city, that he proposed issuing ninety thousand lottery tickets, amounting in the whole to 900,000*l.* which should be drawn either at two or at three different periods, as should be most agreeable to the bidders. To obviate however, as much as possible, the mischiefs of insurance, only eight days should be allowed for each drawing, viz. two days in four successive weeks. The hours of drawing between six in the morning, and eight at night.

Tuesday, April 27.—The gazette stated, that ratifications of the definitive treaty had been received from the First Consul of the French republic; from his Catholic Majesty; and from the Batavian republic.

This account was followed by a proclamation, which having premised that the definitive treaty had been so ratified by the several powers, “notified and declared a conclusion of the war.”

Thursday, April 29.—The chancellor of the exchequer received seven sets of bidders for the lottery. He closed with those who offered 16*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* The profit to government is 555,000*l.* a profit great beyond example; it exceeded former gains by at least 100,000*l.*

At noon on this day was a grand procession of troops, and heralds; of aldermen, with the lord mayor of London; and usual attendants; for the purpose of proclaiming peace in high form and solemnity. The illuminations in the evening were general, and more brilliant than ever had been exhibited on any occasion.

Friday, April 30.—The chancellor of the exchequer stated to the house the contract he had made for the lottery. He then enlarged on what he had but intimated on the 26th inst. to the gentlemen from the city. He informed the committee, it had been his object not only to make a beneficial bargain for the public, but also to adopt such plans and regulations, as held forth a fair prospect of interposing an effectual check to the mischievous practice of low insurance. It was impossible for any person not in possession of official information, to conceive the great and

ruinous extent to which this nefarious practice obtained. Were he to mention the sums of money expended, the number of clerks, and other persons employed in going to public houses, and other places of general resort, for the purpose of enticing and alluring people to embark in this ruinous speculation, he should present such a lamentable scene of mischief and misery, as would totally do away all objection, if any objection could exist, to the adopting of a plan which was calculated to prevent, and as far as possible to annihilate, the continuance of insur-
ance. It must be obvious to every gentleman, that the inducement and temptation to insure were in exact proportion to the length of time the lottery continued drawing. In proportion then as the period of drawing was shortened, the practice of insuring would be diminished. He proposed therefore, there should be three seasons for drawing the lottery, and that the term of each drawing should be limited to eight days.

Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor stated some particular instances of the desperate means, by which the poorer orders would raise money, for the purpose of insuring.

Mr. Babington spoke to the same effect as Mr. Addington.

Addington. The committee agreed to Mr. Addington's motion.

Monday, May 3.—When government communicated authentic information, that the preliminaries of peace had been actually signed, the intelligence came in a manner so very unexpected, that it excited a tumult of universal joy. That a people, who had long been bearing the pressures, and sustaining the evils of a defensive war, should be thus transported at suddenly hearing a circumstance, which, however much desired, was yet thought unattainable, is an effect resulting naturally from success in a great object, when the event is abruptly imparted to us at a moment, in which we had almost fallen into despair,

From October 1, the day on which the preliminaries were settled, to March 27, the day on which the definitive treaty was signed, there elapsed an interval of nearly six months. The public mind, during that period, had full leisure for examining the general outlines and the principal stipulations of the preliminaries. Nor was the attention of reflecting men in any degree disproportionate to the magnitude of the subject

they had to contemplate. They conceived however, that in order to form an impartial judgment, they were bound to keep in view this very material circumstance, viz. That the war was a war of conservation, not of aggrandisement; a war forced upon us, not wantonly began on our part; a war defensive, to secure ourselves, not offensive, to injure others. With steady regard to this ORIGINAL PRINCIPLE, they conceived the preliminaries had stipulated such terms, as upon the whole corresponded with the PROFESSED OBJECTS, for which at first we had entered the conflict. For they saw, that according to the conditions there specified, we maintained our constitution unimpaired; our territories undiminished; our national honour untarnished. They saw more. They saw, that we had gained two valuable islands; were left in possession of an immense tract acquired in the East Indies; had saved our allies in Portugal and Turkey. They perceived in all this, that we had preserved inviolable, what ought to be dear to us as our very existence, we had preserved our national faith. They recollected moreover that we closed the war, not at a period of decline in commerce, or of defeat in arms; but at a crisis, when our trade was in the height of prosperity; and our forces by sea
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and land most gloriously successful. On duly weighing all these facts, they were so far from expressing themselves dissatisfied with the preliminaries, that they anxiously wished for the confirmation of them. And it would be falsifying the history of the times, to dissemble that there existed no small degree of public solicitude, lest the substance of the preliminaries should not ultimately be adopted in the definitive treaty. From this solicitude the moderate, which was by far the major part of the nation, was at length relieved, by a view of the treaty in its last, finished, and complete state. For, however it might differ from the preliminaries in some respects, particularly in those articles which related more immediately to France, Spain, and Portugal; yet the substance of the preliminaries was found so far preserved and sanctioned by the definitive treaty, that the ratification of the treaty occasioned and diffused, not indeed that tumultuous joy, which results from surprize; but that calm, settled, heart-felt satisfaction which springs from conscious approbation founded on reflection. It excited admiration, that in a business where interests so various, so complicated, so opposite, were to be regarded and adjusted, an arrangement so simplified could be suggested and settled. And as to the

general question of policy or impolicy in concluding the war on the terms specified, though we do not pretend to affirm there was entire unanimity, yet without fear of contradiction we may assert, there was throughout the kingdom scarcely any difference of opinion: for to reasoning and thinking men it was apparent, and by the generality of candid and dispassionate persons it was allowed, THAT AS THE BRITISH EMPIRE, NOW LEFT ALONE, HAD NO OBJECT FOR WHICH TO CONTEND WITH ANY PROSPECT OF SUCCESS, THE PROTRACTING OF WAR WOULD BE BUT TO WASTE TREASURE, TO SHED BLOOD, AND TO EXHAUST STRENGTH, FOR NO USEFUL PURPOSE WHATEVER; an act this, of political imprudence, if not of moral wickedness, when the war could be terminated on conditions of peace, fair, equitable, salutary, and honourable.

Such was the general persuasion of the country at large. In parliament however there were some individuals, and those, it must be confessed, respectable in character, virtuous in principle, and upright in their intentions, who, as they objected in the first instance to the preliminaries, so now they objected also to the definitive treaty; which, as it will soon be the subject of debate, shall here be inserted.

DEFINITIVE

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE

Between the French republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian republic, on the one part; and his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, on the other part.

The first Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, and his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, being equally animated with a desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, by the preliminary articles which were signed in London the 9th Vendemiaire, an. 10. (1st of October, 1801.)

And as by the 15th article of the preliminaries it has been agreed on “that plenipotentiaries should be named on the part of each government, who should repair to Amiens, and there proceed to arrange a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers,”

The first Consul of the French republic, in the name of the French people, has named as plenipotentiary the citizen Joseph Buonaparte, counsellor of state:—

His Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named the
marquis

marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most noble order of the garter, one of his Majesty's privy counsel, general in his Majesty's army, &c. &c.—

His Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian republic, have appointed the following plenipotentiaries; to wit; his Catholic Majesty has named Don Joseph Nicolas d'Azara, his counsellor of state, grand cross of the order of Charles III. ambassador extraordinary of his Majesty to the French republic, &c. &c.—

And the government of the Batavian republic has named Roger Jean Schimmelpenninck, its ambassador extraordinary to the French republic, &c.

Which said plenipotentiaries having duly communicated to each other their respective powers, which are transcribed at the conclusion of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I.—There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between the French republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian republic, on the one side; and his Majesty the King of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the other part.

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The contracting parties shall use their utmost efforts to preserve perfect harmony between their respective countries, without permitting any act of hostility whatever by sea, or by land, for any cause, or under any pretext.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might for the future disturb the happy union now re-established between them, and shall not give any succour or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who would wish to injure any one of them.

II. All the prisoners made on one side and the other, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried off or delivered up during the war and up to the present day, shall be restored without ransom, in six weeks at the latest, to be reckoned from the day when the ratifications of the present treaty are exchanged, and on paying the debts which they shall have contracted during their captivity. Each of the contracting parties shall respectively discharge the advances which shall have been made by any of the contracting parties for the support and maintenance of prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. There shall be appointed by mutual consent for this purpose a commission, specially empowered to ascertain and determine the compensations which

which may be due to any one of the contracting parties. The time and the place shall likewise be fixed by mutual consent for the meeting of the commissioners, who shall be entrusted with the execution of this article, and who shall take into account, not only the expences incurred on account of the prisoners of the respective nations, but likewise on account of the foreign troops, who, before being taken, were in the pay and at the disposal of one of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French republic and its allies, viz. his Catholic Majesty and the Batavian republic, all the possessions and colonies which respectively belonged to them, and which have been either occupied or conquered by the British forces during the course of the present war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and of the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His Catholic Majesty cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty the island of Trinidad to his Britannic Majesty.

V. The Batavian republic cedes and guarantees in full property and sovereignty to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the island of Ceylon, which previous to the

the war belonged to the republic of the United Provinces, or to the Dutch East India company.

VI. The port of the Cape of Good Hope remains to the Batavian republic in full sovereignty in the same manner it did previous to the war.

The ships of every kind belonging to the other contracting parties shall be allowed to enter the said port, and there to purchase what provisions they may stand in need of as heretofore, without being liable to pay any other imposts than such as the Batavian republic compels the ships of its own nation to pay.

VII. The territories and possessions of her Most Faithful Majesty are maintained in their integrity such as they were antecedent to the war. However, the boundaries of French and Portuguese Guiana are fixed by the river Arawari, which empties itself into the ocean above Cape North, near the islands Nuovo and Penetentia, about a degree and a third of north latitude. These boundaries shall run along the river Arawari from its mouth the most distant from Cape North to its source, and afterwards on a right line, drawn from that source, to the Rio-Bauto towards the west.

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In consequence, the northern bank of the river Arawari, from its distant mouth to its source, and the territories that lie to the north of the line of the boundaries laid down as above, shall belong in full sovereignty to the French republic.

The southern bank of the said river, from the same mouth, and all the territories to the south of the said line, shall belong to her Most Faithful Majesty.

The navigation of the river Arawari along the whole of its course, shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have been agreed upon between the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, respecting the settlement of their boundaries in Europe shall nevertheless be adhered to, conformably to the stipulations of the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Sublime Porte, are maintained in their integrity, as they were before the war.

IX. The republic of the Seven Islands is recognized.

X. The islands of Malta, Gazo, and Camino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, to be held on the same conditions on which it

it possessed them before the war, and under the following stipulations :

1. The knights of the order whose languages [*langue* ; class, or tribe] shall continue to subsist, after the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as the exchange shall have taken place. They will there form a general chapter, and proceed to the election of a grand master, chosen from among the natives of the nations which preserve their language, unless that election has been already made since the exchange of the preliminaries.

It is understood that an election, made subsequent to that epoch shall alone be considered valid, to the exclusion of any other that may have taken place at any period prior to that epoch.

2. The governments of the French republic and of Great Britain, desiring to place the order and island of Malta in a state of entire independence with respect to them, agree, that there shall not be in future either a French or English language ; and that no individual belonging to either the one or other of these powers shall be admitted into the order.

3. There shall be established a Maltese language, which shall be supported by the territorial revenues

nues and commercial duties of the island. This language shall have its peculiar dignities, an establishment, and an hotel. Proofs of nobility shall not be necessary for the admission of knights of this language; and they shall be moreover admissible to all offices, and shall enjoy all privileges in the same manner as the knights of the other languages. At least half of the municipal, administrative, civil, judicial, and other employments depending on the government, shall be filled by inhabitants of the islands of Malta, Gazo, and Camino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island, and its dependencies, within three months from the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if possible. At that epoch it shall be given up to the order in its present state, provided the grand master, or commissaries fully authorized according to the statutes of the order, shall be in the island to take possession, and that the force which is to be provided by his Sicilian majesty, as is hereafter stipulated, shall have arrived there.

5. One half of the garrison, at least, shall be always composed of native Maltese; for the remainder the order may levy recruits in those countries only which continue to possess the languages

languages (*posseder les langues*). The Maltese troops shall have Maltese officers. The commander in chief of the garrison, as well as the nomination of the officers, shall pertain to the grand master; and this right he cannot resign even temporarily, except in favour of a knight, and in concurrence with the advice of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the isles of Malta, of Gazo, and Camino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be placed under the protection and guarantee of France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia.

7. The neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, with its dependencies, is proclaimed.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and the navigation of all nations, who shall there pay equal and moderate duties; these duties shall be applied to the cultivation of the Maltese language, as specified in paragraph 3d, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, as well as to that of a general lazaretto, open to all colours.

9. The states of Barbary are excepted from the conditions of the preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be procured by the contracting parties, the system of hostilities which

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subsists

subsists between the states of Barbary and the order of St. John, or the powers possessing the languages, or concurring in the composition of the order, shall have ceased.

10. The order shall be governed, both with respect to spirituals and temporals, by the same statutes which were in force when the knights left the isle, as far as the present treaty shall not derogate from them.

11. The regulations contained in the paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner; and the grand master, or, if he shall not be in the island at the time of its restoration to the order, his representative, as well as his successors, shall be bound to take an oath for their punctual observance.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his states, to serve in garrison of the different fortresses of the said islands. That force shall remain one year, to bear date from the restitution to the knights; and if at the expiration of this term the order should not have raised a force sufficient, in the judgment of the guaranteeing powers, to garrison the island and its dependencies, such as is specified in the 5th paragraph, the Neapolitan troops

troops shall continue there until they shall be replaced by a force deemed sufficient by the said powers.

13. The different powers designated in the sixth paragraph, to wit, France, Great Britain, Austria, Spain, Russia, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present stipulations.

XI. The French troops shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman states; the English forces shall also evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands that they occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic.

XII. The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions stipulated by the present treaty, shall be executed in Europe within a month; on the continent and seas of America and Africa, in three months; on the continent and seas of Asia, in the six months which shall follow the ratification of the present definitive treaty, except in case of a special reservation.

XIII. In all cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty, the fortifications shall be restored in the condition they were at the time of signing the preliminaries; and all the works which shall have been constructed since their occupation, shall remain untouched.

It is agreed besides, that in all the stipulated cases of cessions, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants of whatever rank or nation they may be, a term of three years, reckoning from the notification of the present treaty, to dispose of all their properties, whether acquired or possessed by them before or during the continuance of the present war; during which term of three years they shall have free and entire liberty to exercise their religion, and to enjoy their fortunes.

The same power is granted in the countries that are hereby restored, to all persons, whether inhabitants or not, who shall have formed any establishment there during the times that these countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

As to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is hereby agreed, that no person shall, under any pretence, be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, either in person or property, on account of his political conduct or opinion, or for his attachment to any of the contracting parties, or on any account whatever, except for debts contracted with individuals, or for acts subsequent to the present treaty.

XIV. All the sequestrations laid on either side, on funds, revenues, and credits, of what nature
soever

soever they may be, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their citizens or subjects, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty.

The decision of all claims among the individuals of the respective nations for debts, property, effects or rights, of any nature whatsoever, which should, according to received usages, and the law of nations, be preferred at the epoch of the peace, shall be referred to the competent tribunals: in all those cases speedy and complete justice shall be done in the countries wherein those claims shall be respectively preferred.

XV. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and of the adjacent islands, and in the gulph of St. Laurence; are placed on the same footing as they were before the war.

The French fishermen of Newfoundland and the inhabitants of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have liberty to cut such woods as may be necessary for them in the bays of Fortune and Despair during the first year, reckoning from the ratification of the present treaty.

XVI. To prevent all grounds of complaint and disputes which might arise on account of captures which may have been made at sea subsequent to the signing of the preliminaries, it is reciprocally

agreed, that the ships and property which may have been taken in the Channel, and in the North Seas, after a space of twelve days, reckoning from the exchange of the ratifications of the preliminary articles, shall be restored on the one side and the other; that the term shall be one month for the space, from the Channel and the North Sea as far as the Canary Islands inclusively, as well in the ocean as in the Mediterranean; two months from the Canary Islands to the Equator; and finally five months in all other parts of the world, without any further exception or distinction of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers shall enjoy respectively in the states of the said powers the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which were enjoyed before the war by agents of the same class.

XVIII. The branches of the house of Nassau, which were established in the cidevant republic of the United Provinces, now the Batavian republic, having experienced some losses, as well with respect to private property as by the change of constitution adopted in those countries, an equivalent compensation shall be procured for the

the losses which they shall be proved to have sustained.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic Majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession as soon as possible.

XX. It is agreed that the contracting parties, upon requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorized for that purpose, shall be bound to deliver up to justice persons accused of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall only be done in cases in which the evidence of the crime shall be such, that the laws of the place in which the accused person shall be discovered, would have authorized the detaining and bringing him to trial, had the offence been committed there. The expences of the arrest and the prosecution shall be defrayed by the party making the requisition; but this article has no sort of reference to crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed before the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe, sincerely and faithfully, all the articles contained

in the present treaty; and will not suffer any sort of counteraction, direct or indirect, to be made to it by their citizens or respective subjects; and the contracting parties guarantee, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty to be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In testimony whereof, we, the undersigned plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, causing it to be sealed with our respective seals.

Done at Amiens, the 4th Germinal, in the year 10 (March 25, 1802.)

(Signed) *Bonaparte,*
Cornwallis,
Azara, and
Schimmelpenninck.

A correct copy, *J. Bonaparte.*

Monday, May 3d.—As a prelude to a debate on the merits of this treaty, Mr. Windham observed, that on the present occasion he should not enter into a minute investigation and detail, but only remark in general, that the subject might
justly

justly be subdivided into four distinct heads. The first referred to those points, which though actually existing at the time of signing the preliminaries, were notwithstanding unknown to the house. The second, to transactions which had taken place subsequent to the signing of the preliminaries. The third, to points which might be considered as a departure from the provisions of the preliminary treaty. And the fourth, to points totally omitted, which formed a part of the preliminaries. After having expatiated on these and other points, he concluded with moving, "that the house do, to-morrow FORTNIGHT, go into an enquiry on the definitive treaty of peace with France, Spain, and the Batavian republic."

Mr. Elliot seconded the motion.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to reply. He thanked his right hon. friend (Mr. Windham) for the opportunity which, by his motion, would be afforded his Majesty's ministers, to explain every part of their conduct throughout the whole negotiation, and to state the grounds on which they had advised his Majesty to conclude the definitive treaty now lying on the table. It was not, he professed, his intention to follow his right hon. friend minutely, through the four heads under which he had classed his observations:

tions: he would at present content himself with making some few general remarks on the points to which he had adverted; and what he now said, was principally with a view to obviate the impression, which some of his right hon. friend's arguments might have produced. Under the first general head it had been observed, that the island of Elba had been ceded to France. But he would beg leave to ask, whether it was a cause of just reproach to his Majesty's ministers, that this cession was made to the French government by the king of Etruria, a sovereign perfectly competent to make such surrender of his own territories: or did it impose on them the necessity of considering this arrangement as a ground for renewing the war? Unless his right hon. friend was prepared to go this length, it was impossible that blame should attach to his Majesty's ministers. With regard to the limits of French Guiana, on which so much had been said, the fact was, their confines were to be regulated by the treaty of Badajos, and these were the precise limits, which the Portuguese had expressly declared they would think themselves fortunate, if by the interference of England they should be able to obtain. The British government, meaning to insist on these limits, and fully aware that additional

tional cessions would be required, to which Portugal by her situation might be under the necessity of submitting, anticipated that necessity, even before the preliminaries could be known at Lisbon; and by an express stipulation, provided against any other arrangement with respect to the boundaries, than that which had been formed by the treaty of Badajos. In the establishment of the French in Louisiana, his friend had seen much ground for alarm. Unquestionably the cession of Louisiana to France, was a circumstance not to be seen without anxiety, in the view of its affording to the French new means of annoying the American continent, if such a disposition existed in France: but it was not fair to assert, that France had no other means of annoying America, than by possessing Louisiana, and that therefore this possession had given France a power it entirely wanted before. Under the head of new matter, the establishment of the Italian republic, and the failing of the expedition to St. Domingo, had furnished a subject for animadversion. As to the first of these events, he was ready to admit it was calculated to excite great solicitude and anxiety, when considered as annexing a vast accession of strength to France, and thereby affecting the independence of Europe.

rope. But this solicitude and anxiety forced back his mind, to the consideration of the circumstances under which the preliminaries had been settled; and this question recurred—"Whether this event, striking as it was, would have justified ministers in breaking off the pending negotiations for the definitive treaty?" It was said, that such an incident at any former period would have roused and animated the exertions of all European nations; and he was willing to allow this assertion was consistent with truth. But what was the fact, at the time when the Italian republic was thus established? why, before it could possibly be known how the intelligence of such an event would be received in this country, or how it would affect the pending negotiations, the measure had received the sanction of the principal continental powers: a fact, which formed another ground of justification for the conduct of ministers, in not considering the establishment of the Italian republic a reason for renewing the war. Great stress had been laid on the sailing of the French fleet to St. Domingo. But he thought he might safely ask, whether, when the connection between the two interests; between the tranquillity of our West India islands, and the subversion of the government of the blacks in

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in St. Domingo, was fairly and soberly considered, the sailing of that fleet could be regarded as a cause for regret? From the difficulties, which the French troops had encountered, might be formed an estimate how greatly these difficulties would have been augmented, had any delay taken place in the sailing of that expedition.

Among the points in the definitive treaty, in which it was contended there had been admitted a departure from the terms of the preliminaries, the article respecting prisoners had been specified: but for his part, he was unable to see in what, so far as regarded this article, such departure consisted. Much had been said on our paying for the support of the Russian prisoners. When however it was considered, that these troops had been not merely in our pay, but wholly under our direction and controul, he saw no ground for objecting to their being placed, when prisoners of war, on the same footing as our own troops. The situation in which Malta was left by the treaty, had excited animadversion: but he might be allowed to state, that the Maltese themselves, who had the greatest interest in the effectual fulfilment of the article to which he alluded, did not partake in the feelings of the right hon. gentleman, but had received the arrangement formed

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ed for their independence, with satisfaction and gratitude. The arrangement respecting the Cape had been condemned. True it was, that article differed from the preliminaries, by including the ships of Spain in the arrangement; and by altering the regulations about the description of ships to be admitted. It was, however, a matter of doubt, how far the last change would be at all disadvantageous to the interests of this country; and he had the satisfaction of stating, that in the opinion of persons best qualified to form an accurate judgment on the subject, it would not be attended with any of those inconveniences, which were so much apprehended. To the non-renewal of former existing treaties, he called the serious attention of the house. He was aware an opinion was prevalent, and was even circulated with great industry, that on this point his Majesty's ministers had exposed themselves to censure, by overlooking so very important an arrangement as the renewal of existing treaties. That such arrangement had been overlooked, he must unequivocally deny; and must beg leave to assure the house, that it was not till after the most mature deliberation that his Majesty's ministers had, under the present circumstances of this country and of Europe, made no proposition
respecting

respecting the renewal of these treaties. Equally false as the other opinion was the assertion, that a proposition had actually been made for the renewal, and had been rejected by the French government. No proposition of this sort, he could assure the house, had been made by either of the contracting parties. He would not now go at large into this part of the subject; but he felt perfect confidence in believing, that when it was fairly and fully considered, the conduct of his Majesty's ministers would be completely justified. The arrangement for the indemnification of the illustrious house of Orange, had been condemned as illusory; and the mode, in which it was designated in the treaty, had been a topic of censure. He was willing to confess, that the stipulation for this indemnification was not so binding in the *specific* manner it was to be made, as could be wished; but he must be allowed to contend that the stipulation for *ample* indemnity was as explicitly stated as language could convey. Though it was impossible for him not to lament that the provision for our allies was not more extensive, yet he had satisfaction in stating, that as his Majesty's ministers had omitted no exertions in their behalf, so those exertions had been gratefully acknowledged. With respect to the general question now before the house, it was one of the highest importance: it was

was one on which the feelings of the public were most deeply interested; it was one, on which it was infinitely desirable that suspense should prevail for as short a period as possible. He should conclude therefore by moving, "That instead of to-morrow *fortnight*, the words to-morrow *se'nnight* be introduced."

After some objections made by Mr. T. Grenville, and Mr. Windham, both of whom dwelt chiefly on the non-renewal of treaties, Mr. Pitt supported Mr. Addington's motion, which was carried without a division.

Mr. Addington's reply, in this day's debate, is replete with sterling good sense, sound judgment, and open fairness; and so comprehensive, that it contains the SUM and SUBSTANCE, not indeed of all that can be said in answer to objections, but of all that NEED be said on the subject, for the purpose of convincing persons, who will meet all circumstances precisely as they are.

Tuesday, May 4.—Lord Grenville proposed in the house of lords, "that the house do take into their consideration on Friday *se'nnight* the treaty of peace concluded at Amiens."

Lord Pelham proposed, "that instead of Friday *se'nnight*, the treaty be taken into consideration on Wednesday the 12th."

An order was made accordingly.

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The secretary of war having moved for leave to bring in a bill, enabling his Majesty to continue the services of certain volunteer corps, the chancellor of the Exchequer said, that the best way to secure a permanent peace, was to put ourselves in such a posture, as would deter an enemy attempting to disturb our security, on a supposition of our weakness. Upon that ground, he saw the propriety of acceding to the motion. He knew of no force to which this country ought to resort with so much pleasure and confidence, as the volunteer corps; because it was a force which could exist only in a free country. It afforded a pledge of that reliance, which government placed in the loyalty and attachment of the people; and it was a test of the opinion the people entertained respecting the system and principles of their government.

Thursday, May 13.—The definitive treaty was taken into consideration this day, by both houses.

In the house of lords, the principal objections were stated most at length by lord Grenville, who moved an address, which implied censure on the treaty. Lord Pelham replied, and moved an address of approbation.

Lord Ellenborough, the lord chief justice, congratulated his king and his country on the an-

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nihilation of all that useless trash, which was contained in fourteen or fifteen treaties; and which if they had been renewed, would have militated against every rule of reason and common sense. As to the revival of treaties, noble lords might as well talk of reviving the condition of mankind in some very remote period. The revival of the treaties, for which some had called, would have been more advantageous to Buonaparte than to this country; therefore the non-renewal could not be imputed as a crime against ministers.

With regard to Portugal, he considered the conduct of this country towards her as generous in the extreme; for the nation had displayed its integrity towards her, by stipulating for her rights and privileges.

The lord chancellor spoke for three hours. In the course of his speech he said, he did not mean to represent this peace as a glorious peace; but he did contend that on the whole it was a peace concluded for the benefit of this country. He adverted to the objections which had been urged against the terms of the definitive treaty, many of which objections he thought were so insignificant as scarcely to deserve notice.

Lord Grenville's original motion was put, and negatived without a division. Lord Pelham's was carried,

carried, only sixteen being against it. The house adjourned at half past seven in the morning.

In the house of commons, Mr. Windham spoke at length against the treaty, in censure of which he moved an address, which lord Folkstone seconded.

In reply, lord Hawkesbury said, he viewed the negotiation in quite a different light from that in which it was seen by his right hon. friend. He was of opinion, that although some commercial questions were not finally arranged, yet it was better to leave those questions for future adjustment, than longer to defer the negotiation for peace. He maintained, that under all the circumstances of the country, peace was desirable: and that his Majesty's ministers would have been extremely culpable if they had declined it. He begged leave to state the circumstances, in which this country was involved at the time the negotiation was begun. We were then left almost alone to contend with France. Austria had been obliged to comply with terms of peace dictated by the enemy. The German empire was at the mercy of France. We ourselves were deserted by our allies, two only excepted, and neither of them capable of affording us any effective aid; Naples and Portugal. We saw ourselves, instead of be-

ing at the head of a formidable confederacy, now menaced by a league of our old allies, under the influence and direction of France. Such was our situation: and in this dilemma, peace was thought desirable in the opinion of ALL persons, of ALL parties, with very few exceptions. Ministers accordingly entered into negotiation: but they began it under prospects evidently very unfavourable, in the degraded state of Europe after the important event of the treaty of Luneville; and at a time when our ships were shut out almost from every port in Europe. Notwithstanding these disadvantageous appearances, ministers were determined to sustain the honour and importance of this country; and in their proposal to negotiate, they laid down three principles as the rules on which they meant to proceed: first, the complete integrity of the British empire; second, fidelity to our allies; and third, to obtain compensations out of the conquests we had made, as a counterpoise to the acquisitions of France on the continent. In these objects it was their firm purpose to persist; and the probability of their success in attaining them was considerably heightened by some events which gave a propitious turn to our affairs at that time; such were the victory on the second of April in the Baltic,

Baltic, and the gallant behaviour of our army in Egypt, particularly on the 19th of March; circumstances, which not a little contributed to create in the French government a disposition for peace. At all events, ministers meant to seek compensation in the East and West Indies, as that seemed the most desirable principle; and they have accordingly annexed to our dominions two of the greatest naval stations in those quarters of the globe.

In a speech of great length, enlarged knowledge, and satisfactory explanation, lord Hawkesbury proceeded to review the conduct of ministers pending the negotiation, and to defend, against the objections of Mr. Windham and other members, those several articles in the definitive treaty, which had incurred the highest degree of their censure. Of all incidents, which happened pending the negotiation, the most material, because of all others the most alarming to Europe, was the establishment of the Italian republic. “ But (says his lordship) had we been disposed to resist the accession of Buonaparte to the presidency of the Cisalpine republic, how could we have accomplished any thing without the aid of the continental powers? And how did the case stand? Buonaparte’s newly acquired power was scarcely
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announced, when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him; that of Vienna acquiesced; and Russia shewed no symptom of dissatisfaction. Would it then have been considered wise and prudent in us alone to renew the war, on account of this event?"

The cession of Louisiana to France was another event, which had occurred since the preliminary treaty, and which therefore should in the opinion of some gentlemen have influenced ministers to resistance. "I do not mean (says lord Hawkesbury) to consider this as an indifferent object: but it should be recollected, that Louisiana is an old French settlement; and that during the negotiation of the peace in 1763, a peace generally thought the most triumphant ever made by this country, this settlement was privately transferred by France to Spain: a transaction much more gross, than that of which there was now complaint, because Louisiana was referred to expressly in the treaty of 1763. As to the political advantages, which France can derive from this possession, I doubt whether they can be of much consequence; I am confident however they are not of such consequence as to have justified ministers in rejecting peace. Much has been said of the influence which this possession threatens to give France over
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the United States of America. To this I reply, it has been the policy of America, since the time of its separation from England, to keep an equal balance between France and us. Such was the system of general Washington; and such is the system of the ablest statesmen in America at the present day. The probability therefore is, that the possession of Louisiana now rendering France the natural rival of America, every maxim of sound policy will incline her to cultivate a more intimate connection with this country."

On the non-renewal of treaties; Newfoundland; the Cape of Good Hope; Portugal; and Malta, he enlarged in vindication of the definitive treaty. Particularly on the latter he observed: "Gentlemen have dwelt much upon Malta. As to that I shall say, whether the arrangement be or be not as good as could have been conceived, it is as good as circumstances would permit. A power to guarantee it, with a view to preserve it from the dominion of France, was chosen. The offer was first made to Russia; but such is the change of politics in courts, that Russia refused to guarantee: it was therefore put under the protection of Naples, a country, which from the contiguity of Sicily, has the deepest interest to take care that Malta shall not fall into the

hands of France. Nor is this all. We have moreover the guarantee of Austria and the principal powers of Europe, for the independence of that island."

"Upon the whole, on the general question of the peace, his lordship was decidedly of opinion, that we never stood, at the conclusion of any treaty of peace, in so good a relative situation to France, as at present. He maintained, that no prospect of farther acquisitions should induce us to prosecute hostilities. We were fatigued with the contest, By which he did not mean to say, we should shrink from it if indispensably necessary: far otherwise; for we felt that our resources were perfectly adequate to any occasion; but it was wiser to foster those resources; to promote our navigation and trade; and hold ourselves always in readiness to support the importance, dignity, and interests of the empire. As it is wise to œconomize the resources, so it will be wise to œconomize the spirit of Great Britain, and to conclude a peace of such description as had been concluded. The interests of the country were entire, and its honour was preserved."

Lord Hawkesbury ended his speech of four hours, with moving an address, which expressed approbation of the treaty.

Mr. Pole

Mr. Pole seconded Lord Hawkesbury. Mr. T. Grenville replied to Lord Hawkesbury. Mr. Dundas to Mr. Grenville. At three in the morning, on the motion of general Gascoigne, and with the perfect approbation of the minister, who wished all gentlemen should have full opportunity of delivering their sentiments on so weighty a concern, the house adjourned,

Friday, May 14.—The debate was resumed. Sir W. Young supported the original address, moved on Thursday by Mr. Windham.

Lord Castlereagh, in a very long reply, introduced this passage. “If I were now to inquire on what principle we should act, in order to re-establish our influence on the continent, I should not hesitate to say, that we ought to act on the principle of giving to France the means of acquiring maritime resources, and colonial advantages. There is not in the adoption of this principle so much to be feared, as some persons may be inclined to think: for if minutely investigated, it will be found to contain in it nothing contrary to the real and best interests of the country. From the moment France is enabled to acquire colonial and maritime resources, she has more than ever to dread the occurrence of hostilities: she has from that moment
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more just and serious causes to fear war." This assertion was proved by a comparison of exports and imports in England and France, the result of which was to shew that France must avoid war if she would recover her trade, and trade alone could restore her resources. As to our own condition, we stood in a situation of great security. We had strength and resources, which would enable us to continue the struggle, if such was necessary.

General Maitland defended the treaty; declaring, that the more he considered the subject then before the house, and the more he viewed the conduct of his Majesty's ministers in making peace, the more firmly was he persuaded that it was a peace as good, as honourable, and as likely to be permanent, as any, which, under the present circumstances of Europe, could be obtained for this country.

When lord Temple had spoken in reply to the arguments used by lord Hawkesbury on the preceding, and by lord Castlereagh on the present evening; the master of the rolls (sir William Grant) observed, that with respect to the acquisitions of France, neither peace, nor any war, which it was in the power of this country to make, could wrest them from her. But it had been

been said, there was no necessity for peace. To that he would reply, "that whenever the nation ceased to have any rational prospects of bettering her condition by carrying on war, she was then under the moral necessity of putting an end to it; even if she should be able in every respect to go on with it." He said it was incumbent on those, who were for continuing the war, to point out the existence of those means, that were likely to effect the desired purpose. As long as we had the assistance and cooperation of allies on the continent, so long was there a rational chance that things would be placed in a better situation; that the objects of the war would be attained; and, in short, that the balance of Europe would be regulated and preserved. It was under these circumstances, that the overtures made by Bounaparte had been rejected. They were rejected, because at the time they were offered, there was rational ground to hope that Europe would be placed in a better situation by persevering in war, than by making peace. But it was found that we were no more able to recover Belgium from France, than to prevent the first consul from placing himself at the head of the new Italian republic, or making himself master of Louisiana. If therefore, by continuing the
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the war, we were not able to recover Belgium, would it not be absurd to renew the war for the purpose of preventing great part of Italy from being annexed to France? one would have been as impracticable as the other. The same observations applied still more forcibly to the isle of Elba. That place had freely been given up by Tuscany, who had a right to do so; why then should *we* insist that it should not be given up, and go to war if our desire was not complied with?

Having intimated, that to any treaty of peace a volume of objections might be made; and having recounted and refuted the principle cavils at the terms of the present, he expressed his confidence that the peace now made would be found to answer the best purposes of pacification; and to put the country in such a state, that if any power should presume to disturb our tranquillity, invade our privileges, injure our interests, or offend our character, we might be enabled to call forth every hand and heart in the country for their defence, with invigorated resources, and augmented energy.

Dr. Lawrence having expressed dissatisfaction, Mr. Bond said, in point of justice, ministers could then only be culpable for having concluded
a peace

a peace on the terms it was concluded, if better could be obtained: but he had not heard even the assertion of a fact, or the shadow of an argument, to induce a belief that better terms were attainable. If not; how criminal would ministers have been in continuing the war!

The chancellor of the Exchequer allowed that the definitive treaty differed in five points from the preliminary articles, viz. Newfoundland; the prisoners; Portugal; Malta; and the Cape: but from the two latter alone, all the danger, if any, could arise. Having explained the circumstances, which belonged to the treaty of Badajos, he said he was satisfied that the measures adopted with respect to the peace, were on the whole advisable: that he had never given it false colours: that he had always been of opinion there was no safety or strength for a minister without honour. Had the negotiation failed, it would have been his first wish to have laid before the house every circumstance connected with it; and he must have had unworthy views, if he, or any of his Majesty's ministers, had in the course of their proceedings done any thing to tarnish the honour of the country. After having taken a retrospective view of the situation in which the continent of Europe was placed, and of our own resources, he said,

said, he prayed earnestly that peace might continue; and that France might act towards us with wisdom and moderation; adding, that if we economized our resources we should ever be ready to defend our rights and privileges, if the encroaching power of France should be made manifest towards us. "The sentiments of ministers, I can take upon me to say, are founded upon the most sincere wish to preserve the blessings of peace; and they will, with due precaution and conciliatory policy, endeavour to preserve it. Indeed I flatter myself, that in calculating its probable duration, we may assign it as long an existence as any peace concluded in the last century. If there be any disposition in the enemy to misuse their power, if there be any disposition, which I do not admit to have been shewn, to encroach upon our rights, the best security for repose is to present no point of weakness to any active rival. By maintaining confidence at home, and a system of prudence and caution abroad, I see no reason to suppose that our tranquillity will be shaken. I see nothing in the situation of Europe or of France that should fill us with premature apprehensions."

Mr. Sheridan, after a speech of wit and irony, which excited much laughter in the house, moved

moved an amendment. The house called for the question.

For leaving out the words of Mr. Windham's address,—Ayes 276; Noes 20.—Majority 256.

The question was then put upon Mr. Sheridan's amendment, which was negatived.

Lord Hawkesbury's amendment was then put, and carried in the affirmative.

It was in words to this effect:

“ That a humble address be presented to his
 “ Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of
 “ the house for having been graciously pleased to
 “ communicate to them the definitive treaty
 “ of peace; to represent to his Majesty, that we
 “ have already declared our full approbation of
 “ the preliminary articles of peace, which, by his
 “ Majesty's command, were laid before this house;
 “ and we are satisfied that his Majesty has, on the
 “ whole, wisely consulted the interests of his
 “ people in having concluded a definitive treaty,
 “ founded on the basis of these preliminaries.
 “ That although we deeply lament the calamitous
 “ events which have taken place on the continent
 “ of Europe in the course of the war, we cannot
 “ but reflect with the utmost satisfaction, that
 “ the wild and destructive designs with which
 “ this country was threatened at its commence-
 “ ment, have been effectually frustrated; that his
 “ Majesty's

“ Majesty’s dominions have not only been pre-
“ served entire, but valuable and important ac-
“ quisitions have been annexed to them; that
“ our commercial and maritime superiority have
“ been maintained and improved, and that we
“ continue in the confirmed possession of those
“ means of exertion which the experience of
“ the late contest has proved more than ever
“ to be equal, even amidst the new and unex-
“ ampled difficulties of other nations of Europe,
“ to maintain the independence, and assert the
“ honour of this country. That impressed with
“ these sentiments, we are on our parts ear-
“ nestly solicitous to cultivate and improve the
“ blessings of peace, and to concur in such
“ measures as his Majesty in his wisdom shall
“ judge to be best calculated to prevent occasions
“ of misunderstanding with foreign powers. That
“ we rely on his Majesty’s known disposition to
“ adhere with the most scrupulous fidelity to his
“ engagements; but that we entertain at the same
“ time a perfect confidence that his Majesty will
“ not fail to employ that vigilance and attention
“ which the present situation of Europe demands;
“ and above all, that his Majesty will uniformly
“ determine and prepare to defend against every
“ encroachment, the great sources of the wealth,
“ commerce, and naval power of the empire.
“ That

“ That we are fully persuaded his Majesty’s faith-
 “ ful subjects will at all times be ready to support
 “ the honour of his Majesty’s crown, and the
 “ rights, laws, and liberties of their country, with
 “ the same zeal, energy, and fortitude which they
 “ have invariably manifested during the war, now
 “ happily brought to a conclusion.”

His address was ordered to be presented to his Majesty. The house adjourned at half past four in the morning.

This decision of parliament in favour of the definitive treaty, was received with universal satisfaction by the country. To the minister it was with reason thought highly honourable, that the concurrent voice both of the parliament and of the united kingdoms should sanction his treaty; particularly when on a retrospect of past years it was recollected, that the peace in 1762, though approved by parliament, was condemned by the people; and the peace in 1783, though popular in the nation, was condemned by parliament.

And now, when the question is for ever determined, and considerations of party can have no avail, let us fairly and freely ask,

First, in a general way :

Though the war in its commencement was unavoidable; and though for many years the termi-

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nation of it was not only inexpedient, but impracticable; yet did it thence follow, that however the politics of France might vary, a change of measures in Britain was NEVER to succeed? Did it thence follow, that another system, arising from a new combination of continental facts, from a new posture of affairs in other countries, and from a new relation of several foreign kingdoms with respect to themselves, and with respect to us, could NEVER be adopted at home without involving the parliament and the nation in the charge of inconsistency? Considerate individuals, in the common occurrences of life, usually form their opinions and determine their line of conduct, according to the nature of the case before them, when that case, in itself, connections, and dependencies, appears to be so far settled, as at least to afford ground on which with reason to expect it will remain for some duration, the same, undisturbed, and unaltered. Bodies politic should act in a similar manner. And where, after due observation and mature weighing of all circumstances, experience and foresight will justify presumption of some stability, there adaptation of counsels and of proceedings to an order of things apparently far from being fluctuating, so little deserves censure as an instance of

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light mutability, that it rather merits commendation as a mark of wisdom.

Secondly: Not distrusting the pacific declarations of France, has not the nation ceased to apprehend danger internal or external, occasioned by the means of that country, to our liberties civil and religious? Yet the defence of these invaluable blessings was among the chief of the real causes, which induced us originally to undertake the war. In proportion as the security of them is increased, the continuance of war becomes less necessary, and of course less just.

Thirdly: But even supposing there do exist some grounds for suspicion; yet when ALL our POWERFUL allies have given up the contest, and France has professed an inclination to desist from hostilities against Great Britain, was it not advisable; or rather, was it not incumbent on the government of this country, at least, to make experiment of the sincerity avowed by our enemies?

Fourthly: What if there still remain treaties unsettled, and business not yet perfectly finished; was there never to be given opportunity and leisure for making an effort to commence an arrangement? and has it never been seen in concerns of the greatest magnitude, that when once

a beginning has been made, when once affairs have been put into a train; the conductors of them, guided by prudent regard to times, circumstances, possibilities, necessities, have at length adjusted all differences which related to expectations, claims, and advantages?

Fifthly: Are there any who fear that in consequence of peace will ensue a diminution in that part of our revenue, which arises from commerce? This evil brings its own remedy. For, as the burthens of war will be alleviated, the aids of commercial duties will be less requisite. Probably, however, those duties will very little decrease: for, on the ratified and permanent cessation of hostilities, our trade will find out new channels, and thus enlarge and multiply the sources of revenue.

But now for points more particular. Would it not have been iniquitous, had we refused to indemnify France for supporting Russian prisoners, who had been troops in our pay? Was it not sound policy to relinquish conquered possessions, for the defence and retaining of which we had not sufficient strength? and was it not also sound policy to discern, that extension of empire beyond national strength, tends rather to increase weakness than augment force? Considering the enormous

mous expence at which the Cape had been maintained, was it not better to surrender it and make it a free port, and so have the advantage of it without the charge; than by renewing the war incur still farther expence; and, after all, run the risk of losing it? Provided we have access to it as a free port, the retaining of it as our sole possession can be no great object; or at least not an object to be purchased so dearly as it would have been, by the certain additional expence of keeping it during the continuance of a renewed war; by the prolongation of all the evils inseparable from hostilities; and by the danger to which we should have exposed other possessions far more valuable.

Thus defensible is the surrender of the Cape, even on the supposition that its conveniences are still as requisite for our Eastern traders, as they were formerly considered. But, in fact, its conveniences are not so requisite. For, by great improvements in the art of navigation, and consequently increased facility in pursuing their voyages, our India and China captains now steer their courses in higher latitudes. They derive from these new and better directions two considerable advantages; exempt, as they are, from the necessity of touching at the Cape; and secured also from encountering the enemies cruisers, which in time of war infest the vicinity of that station.

The importance of the Cape to the British empire is yet farther diminished, by the acquisition of Ceylon and the fine harbour at Trincomale.

If Portugal, if Spain, if the king of Etruria, thought proper to cede, the first some of her Portuguese and American territories; the second, Louisiana; the third, Elba; brave and valiant though we are as a people, and high though we rank in the scale of European kingdoms, so that with justice we may assume to ourselves a due degree of national consequence; yet by what authority could we dictate terms to foreign courts, and forbid them to act at their own discretion? We are ready enough to condemn the insolence of France: shall we forget, that by arrogating imperious sway we fall precisely into the same insolence? If Buonaparte had prescribed to us in these terms;—"You shall reduce your navy; for I think your accession of maritime strength is dangerous;—you shall surrender Trinidad and Ceylon; for your colonial islands are more than sufficient already;—you shall relinquish your vast acquisitions on the continent of India, for they are excessive:" the generous pride of Britons would have spurned at the haughtiness of these mandates. How then could we presume to insist, that he should not have accession to his continental power, by openly taking on him the controul of Italy? And if
Russia,

Russia, Prussia, and Austria opposed it not, how were we to prevent it? To have renewed the war, because he styled himself president of the Italian republic, would moreover have been in *fact* contending about a *name* only: for in reality, before this open avowal, he *virtually* possessed, though he had not *formally* assumed and announced this supremacy. Of all objections to the Definitive Treaty, none are so groundless, and therefore none so unreasonable, as those which are made to the surrender of Malta. In what consisted the injustice of France, when her arms attacked and took that Island? Undeniably in this; that by grasping rapacity it seized an Island heretofore neutral and independent. We appeared there to rescue it from foreign domination; not to capture it as a common spoil of war. If France on her side would relinquish all pretensions to Malta, and would bind herself not to interfere either with the place or its inhabitants; consistently with our own original principles we could do no more than provide for the fulfilment of that restriction. And in fact it seems utterly impossible to have guarded the independence of Malta with greater precaution, than what has been adopted. We are not to leave it, till there has been secured, and acknowledged, a strong guarantee. If in the guarantee of so

many powers there is yet no confidence, the fault will lie, not in our minister, but in the ambition and falsehood of intriguing enemies. It is true, indeed, ambition and falsehood ever have been the characteristics, and ever will be the prevailing crimes of some continental powers. Wherefore, knowing this, as we do from experience, to the question "How long will the peace continue?" we may reply, just as long as all other treaties of peace have remained in force, viz. till it is their interest to violate its conditions, and till they have strength to re-commence a war. Such however has always been the case. Yet the consideration of this circumstance never deterred former statesmen; nor ought it to have deterred the present minister from making peace. In all situations, after duly weighing the force of existing and the probability of contingent circumstances, the BEST is to be done. It was BEST, not to lay this country under additional incumbrances, for no adequate purpose. When there was no prospect of weakening the enemy to any considerable extent, it was BEST to stop the accumulation of burthens, by endeavouring to establish peace; and thus close the contest, with strength still powerful, and resources yet abundant. The sin of violating a solemn treaty, if violated it should be, will recoil on those, who shall hereafter

after incur the detestable guilt of treachery and perfidy, a guilt, which this nation has courage to resent, and force to chastise. All that, in the situation of Great Britain and Europe, could reasonably be expected, Mr. Addington has done for the repose of both; he has done it too with sagacity, moderation, firmness, prudence, honour. With sagacity, in discerning the time when peace would be seasonable. With moderation, in offering such conditions as an enemy could accept without self-degradation. With firmness, in persevering till he could surmount all obstacles which impeded the negotiation. With prudence, in three particulars. In the interval between the preliminary and definitive treaties, the minister was placed in a situation extremely delicate. Many doubts were entertained concerning the sincerity of the Chief Consul; "*cui nec credere; nec, (non credendo ne infestior fieret) fidem abrogare, satis erat tutum.*"—(Liv. 3. 16.). Such was the minister's conduct at this critical period, that at once it shewed and conciliated good faith. By restoring to France her West India islands, he presented an object, which might divert her attention from the sole exercise of arms; and held out an inducement, which might invite her to a pursuit more salutary to Europe in general, the cultivation and enlargement of foreign commerce.

By leaving to the effects of their own complicated follies, the continental states now subjugated by France, he has probably taken the most effectual means of eventually diminishing her exorbitant dominion. Not to Philip only are these words applicable: "Think not his present prosperity is fixed so immoveably as to be of perpetual duration. Even among those, who appear to be connected with him in friendship, there are some who hate, there are some who fear, there are some who envy him. Whatever vicissitudes are incident to the affairs of any other man, the same be assured are attached to his."—(Demosth. Phil. 1.) It is not in human nature to endure usurpation longer than necessity and compulsion enforce submission. "*An credi posse ullum populum, aut hominem denique, in eâ conditione, cujus eum pœniteat, diutiùs quàm necesse sit, mansurum? Ibi pacem esse fidam, ubi voluntarii pacati sint; neque eo loco, ubi servitutem esse velint, fidem sperandam esse.*"—(Liv. 8, 21.) When the several powers are renovated in force, it is far from improbable that they will understand their true policy; will coalesce; and make a vigorous struggle for independence. As in these three instances Mr. Addington has evinced prudence, so in every thing connected with the whole negotiation he has shewn honour
personal

personal and private, national and public: for in effecting his great purpose he derived to himself no one advantage, but that which with every Englishman he shared in common, that which with every Englishman he had constantly in view, and which he has secured; the maintenance of British empire, British integrity, and British glory. These in his patriotism he holds most dear: these in his vigilance he will watchfully guard: these in his magnanimity he will suffer no foreign power whatever to injure with impunity.

Tuesday, June 1.—This day, according to royal proclamation, dated 26th of April, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving for the blessing of peace. The solemnity was kept with the greatest decorum and reverence throughout the kingdom.—It was singular that the council should fix on the first of June. It did not escape the recollection of a sensible preacher, that this was the very day on which lord Howe gained an important victory. “Upon the anniversary of this very day, on which we are now assembled, the first great and important blow was struck, whose decisive effects, by increasing the ardour of our seamen, and dispiriting those of our enemies, led the way to a series of naval victories unparalleled in the annals of our country, and the most brilliant that
ever

ever adorned the page of history." (See p. 8. of a sermon preached at the cathedral church of Winchester, on Tuesday the 1st of June, 1802, by the Rev. John Garnett.)

Tuesday June 22.—Of such magnitude was the definitive treaty; so interesting was the debate on that subject; and so entirely has it occupied and satisfied the public mind; that although in the interval of some few weeks past, the chancellor of the Exchequer has brought before the house much business of various descriptions; particularly his plan for consolidating the sinking funds, which Mr. Pitt conceived would improve and invigorate them; yet scarcely any occurrence has been thought of sufficient importance to attract any considerable degree of notice, till since Mr. Tierney has moved certain financial resolutions, confessedly drawn up with ability. Other resolutions, of the same nature, were this day submitted to the house by the chancellor of the Exchequer. The following is a copy of them:

“ 1. That the amount of the public funded debt was, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, 238,231,248 *l.* exclusive of long and short annuities and annuities for lives, to the amount of 1,373,550 *l.* That on the 1st of Feb. 1793, stock to the amount of 10,242,100 *l.* had been purchased by the commissioners

missioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 79,880*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account; reducing the actual amount of the debt, on the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 227,989,148*l.* and the annuities to 1,293,670*l.* And that, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, stock to the amount of 39,885,308*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; and annuities to the amount of 125,707*l.* had fallen in, and been carried to their account; and stock to the amount of 18,001,148*l.* had been transferred to them on account of land-tax redeemed; reducing the actual amount of debt existing before the war, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, to 180,344,792*l.* and the annuities to 1,247,843*l.*

“ 2. That the capital of the public funded debt created since the 1st of Feb. 1793, as the same stood on the 1st of Feb. 1802, together with the capital to be created by sums borrowed in the present session of parliament, and exclusive of 7,502,633*l.* 3 per cent. stock, created by advances to the emperor of Germany, is, 351,125,730*l.* That the amount of long annuities created during the same period is 320,461*l.* per ann. exclusive of 230,000*l.* annuity created by advances to the emperor of Germany, which will expire in the year 1802:
that

that of these sums 22,348,000*l.* capital, and 9,791*l.* long annuities are on account of Ireland; leaving a permanent debt of 328,777,730*l.* charged on Great Britain; and that on the 1st of Feb. 1802, 19,703,596*l.* had been purchased by the commissioners for redeeming the national debt; reducing the said permanent debt created since the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 309,074,134*l.* exclusive of long annuities to the amount of 310,670*l.* per ann.

“ 3. That the total amount of the permanent funded debt charged on Great Britain, after deducting the sum of 59,588,904*l.* redeemed by, and the annuities fallen in to, the commissioners, and 18,001,148*l.* transferred to them, on account of land tax redeemed, was, on the 1st of Feb. 1802, 489,418,926*l.*; together with short annuities to the amount of 543,103*l.* and long annuities to the amount of 1,015,410*l.* after deducting the annuities provided for by Ireland.

“ 4. That the sum annually applicable to the reduction of the national debt of Great Britain, in pursuance of the act passed in 1786, was 1,000,000*l.* being about 1-238th part of the capital of the permanent debt then existing; and for 1793 was 1,427,143*l.* being about 1-160th part of the permanent debt existing in 1793, and may for the year 1802 be estimated at 5,800,000*l.*
being

being about 1-84th part of the permanent debt existing in 1802; which sum of 5,800,000*l.* is appropriated by act of parliament to accumulate at compound interest, until the whole of the existing debt is discharged, which, supposing all the stocks to be purchased at par, and no further sums to be transferred for the redemption of the land tax, cannot be later than the close of the year 1843.

“ 5. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt, on the 5th of Jan. 1786, was 9,297,000*l.* before any fund was created applicable to the reduction of the debt; and on the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 10,325,000*l.* including 1,000,000*l.* applicable to the reduction of the debt; in which sum 10,325,000*l.* was included, on the 5th of Jan. 1793, the interest of 10,242,100*l.* capital stock redeemed; and the amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, which had been transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 387,143*l.* and that the said sum of 10,325,000*l.* was reduced on the 5th of Jan. 1802, by reason of stock transferred for the redemption of the land-tax, and by diminution in the charges of management on account of sums redeemed by the commissioners, to 9,771,169*l.* in which sum is included the interest on 39,885,308*l.* capital stock redeemed, and the
amount

amount of annuities fallen in or unclaimed, and transferred to the commissioners, making together the sum of 1,334,186*l*.

“ 6. That the annual charge incurred on account of the permanent debt of Great Britain, created since the 5th of Jan. 1793, (including 924,199*l*. permanent interest and charge on loan of the present session) of which 48,761*l*. 17*s*. will not become payable till after the 5th of Jan. 1806, amounts to 13,597,594*l*. per annum, of which 10,544,383*l*. is for interest, annuity, and charges of management of such part of the said debt as was unredeemed on the 1st of Feb. 1802, and 3,053,211*l*. arising from 1*l*. per cent. sinking fund, on the capital of part of the said debt and interest of stock redeemed, and is applicable to the reduction thereof; and that a further charge of 497,735*l*. per annum, is guaranteed by parliament, in default of payment of the interest of certain loans by his Majesty the emperor of Germany.

“ 7. That the amount of the outstanding demands unprovided for on the 5th of Jan. 1802, exclusive of the unfunded debt, and of the anticipation of certain duties annually voted, was 4,416,220*l*.; that the surplus of ways and means for the year 1801, was 114,000*l*.; and 99,886*l*. remained unpaid, and applicable to the public service,

service, on the grant to the queen of Portugal, reducing the amount of demands unprovided for, to 4,202,334*l.* of which 3,920,289*l.* has been provided for in the present session.

“ 8. That the unfunded debt, (exclusive of the anticipation in the usual form of certain duties annually voted) amounted on the 5th of Jan. 1793, to 8,925,422*l.* and on the 5th of Jan. 1802, to 21,179,170*l.* exclusive of the anticipation of the loan of 1802, and of 3,000,000*l.* advanced by the bank, without interest, for the renewal of their charter, to be repaid in 1806; of which sum of 21,279,170*l.* 10,113,493*l.* has been paid off or provided for in the course of the present session.

“ 9. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing on the 5th of Jan. 1784, then amounted to 10,194,259*l.* and that taxes were afterwards imposed to defray the expences of the war ending in 1783, amounting in 1786, to 938,000*l.* making together 11,132,000*l.*

“ 10. That the net produce of the permanent taxes existing previous to the year 1784, adding thereto about 938,000*l.* imposed as above stated in 1784 and 1785, and 137,000*l.* arising from the consolidation act, and from duties imposed in 1789, was, in the year ending the 5th of Jan.

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1793,

1793, - - - - - 14,284,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1794, - - - 13,941,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1795, - - - 13,858,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1796, - - - 13,557,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1797, - - - 14,292,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1798, - - - 13,332,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1799, - - - 14,275,000*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1800, - - - 15,743,109*l.*;
 on the 5th of Jan. 1801, and on the 5th of Jan.
 1802, including 1,275,544*l.* the amount of boun-
 ties paid on corn and rice imported, 14,497,226 *l.*
 —which last sum, after deducting the duties arising
 from the consolidation act, and those imposed
 in 1789, exceeds the net produce of the per-
 manent taxes on the 5th of Jan. 1784, together
 with that of the taxes imposed in 1784 and
 1785, by 3,228,226 *l.*

“ 11. That the actual net produce of the taxes
 imposed since the 5th of Jan. 1793, amounted in
 the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, to
 9,187,288*l.* and that the total net produce of
 the permanent taxes, in the year ending the 5th
 of Jan. 1802, amounted to 23,684,514*l.* includ-
 ing 1,275,544*l.* paid for bounties on corn and
 rice imported.

“ 12. That the total gross receipt within the
 year (deducting re-payments, discounts, and
 drawbacks; and also deducting all loans and
 monies

monies paid to government) was, in the year 1797, 12,292,197*l.*; in the year 1798, 30,176,303*l.*; in the year 1799, 34,750,976*l.*; in the year 1800, 33,535,016*l.*; and in the year 1801, 35,368,376*l.*;—being an increase, compared with 1797, of 12,292,197*l.*; and compared with 1798, of 5,192,073*l.*; and compared with 1799, of 617,400*l.*; and compared with 1800, of 1,833,360*l.*

“ 13. That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 13,122,235*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 11,690,829*l.*: That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 19,659,358*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 18,685,390*l.* That the official value of all imports into Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, (supposing the imports from the East Indies, of which no account has yet been made up, to be the same as in the preceding year) was 32,317,032*l.*; making an increase as compared with 1783, of 10,194,797*l.* and with 1792, of 12,657,674*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 26,964,038*l.*; making an increase as compared

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with

with the average to Jan. 1784, of 15,273,209*l.*; and with the average to the 5th of Jan. 1793, of 8,278,648*l.*; and that the real value of imports in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, supposing the imports from the East Indies to be the same as in the preceding year, may be estimated at about 58,680,000*l.*

“ 14. That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 10,409,713*l.* and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 8,616,660*l.*; that the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 18,336,851*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 14,771,049*l.*: That the official value of British manufactures exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 25,719,979*l.*; making an increase as compared with 1783 of 15,310,266*l.*; and with 1792, of 7,383,128*l.*; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 21,631,050*l.*; making an increase as compared with the average to 5th of Jan. 1784, of 13,014,390*l.* and with the average to 5th of Jan. 1793, of 6,860,001*l.*; and that the real value of British manufactures
exported

exported in the year 1801, may be estimated at 41,770,000*l*.

“ 15. That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th Jan. 1784, was 4,332,909*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1784, was 4,263,930*l*.: That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 6,568,348*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1793, was 5,468,014*l*.: That the official value of foreign merchandise exported from Great Britain, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 16,523,480*l*.; making an increase as compared with 1783 of 12,190,571*l*.; and with 1792, of 9,955,132*l*.; and on an average of six years, ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, was 14,104,700*l*.; making an increase as compared with the average to Jan. 5th, 1784, of 9,840,770*l*.; and with the average to Jan. the 5th, 1793, of 8,636,686*l*.; and that the real value of foreign merchandise exported, in the year ending the 5th of Jan. 1802, may be estimated at about 15,750,000*l*.

“ 16. That the number of registered vessels belonging to the British dominions, and employed in trade, in the year 1789, being the first year

in which the register act had taken full effect, was 14,310; their tonnage 1,395,172; and the number of seamen navigating the same 108,962: In the year 1792, the number of vessels was 16,079; their tonnage 1,540,145; and the number of seamen navigating the same 118,286: and in the year 1801, the number of vessels was 19,772; their tonnage 2,037,317; and the number of men 143,987; being an increase of 5,462 ships, of 642,145 tons, and of 35,025 men, compared with 1788; and of 3,693 ships, of 497,172 tons, and of 25,701 men, compared with 1792.

“ 17. That the total sum to be raised in Great Britain in the year 1802, may be estimated as follows: viz.

“ Interest of public funded debt, charges of management, and sinking fund, on the 5th of Jan. 1802, after deducting interest payable by Ireland - - - - -	£. 22,444,564
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“ Interest, &c. to be incurred and paid between the 5th of Jan. 1802, and 5th of Jan. 1803, on stock created by loans in the present session - -	665,422
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“ Interest on Exchequer bills -	750,000
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“ Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, according to the articles	
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articles of union, of the civil list, and other charges on the consolidated funds of Great Britain and Ireland, amounting together to 1,537,739 *l.* £. 1,356,828

“ Civil government of Scotland, estimated as before, pensions on hereditary revenue ditto, militia and deserters' warrants ditto, bounties for promoting fisheries, linen manufactures, &c. ditto, including excess of corn bounties beyond 1,643,000 *l.* repaid by parliament - 1,000,000

“ Charges of management of revenue the same as last year - - - 2,024,697

“ Making the total permanent charges to be defrayed out of the gross receipt of permanent revenue - - - - - 28,241,511

“ Proportion to be defrayed by Great Britain, according to the articles of union, of the supplies voted for 1802 for Great Britain and Ireland, amounting in the whole to 39,305,344 *l.* including therein the separate charges on Great Britain - 35,532,371

63,773,882

“ Advance

" Advance to Ireland	2,000,000	
" Interest payable for		£.
imperial loans -	497,596	
		2,497,596
		66,271,478

" 18. That the gross receipt of the permanent revenue, after deducting repayments for over entries, drawbacks, and bounties in the nature of drawbacks, amounted, in the year ended 5th of Jan. 1802, to - 29,220,536

" Estimated produce to the 5th of April, 1803, of the taxes imposed in the present session of parliament - 2,400,000

That further sums are applicable to the service of the year 1802, as follows :

" Repayments from Grenada, imprests, and lottery - - - - 862,000

" And the remainder of the supply for the year 1802 is provided for by a loan on account of Great Britain, of - - - - - 23,000,000

" And a loan for Ireland, of - 2,000,000

" And by Exchequer bills to be charged on supplies 1803 - - - 5,000,000

" And

“ And expected additional produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - - 1,600,000

“ Surplus of ways and means 1801, and residue of grants to the queen of Portugal - - - - - 213,886

“ Interest on land tax contracted to be paid for by instalments - - 25,000

“ Arrears of income tax - - - 2,500,000

“ Making in the whole the sum of 66,821,422

“ 19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of Jan. 1791, and including fundry extraordinary expences for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to 16,816,985 l.

“ But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee £.
at - - - - - 15,969,178

“ With which estimate the actual expence of the year 1792 nearly agreed.

“ In

“ In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000*l.* from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemption of land tax on the 5th of Jan. 1802 - - - - -

l.

540,000

15,429,178

“ That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is - - - - -

13,597,594

“ That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of Exchequer bills outstanding, is about

140,000

“ Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at 5*l.* per cent. is about - - - - -

270,000

“ That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is

390,000

“ That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is - - - - -

200,000

“ And that the increased expenses of the peace establishment

(exclusive

(exclusive of any charges to be incurred by interest on further sums to be paid on winding up the expences of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase of pay, and other expences), may be estimated at - - - - - 700,000

“ And also exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans, due by the emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be estimated at 30,726,772

“ 20. That adding to the produce of the permanent taxes in the year ending Jan. 5, 1802, the sum of 1,275,544*l.* paid for corn bounties, and the sum of 1,600,000*l.* being the estimated deficiency of certain duties in the same year, the income applicable to the peace establishment, may be estimated as follows, viz.

Old permanent taxes - - -	£. 14,497,226
New permanent taxes - - -	9,187,288
Further produce of taxes that were deficient in 1801, compared with 1799 - - - - -	1,600,000
Further produce of taxes, 1801	864,319
	Taxes

Taxes imposed in 1802	- - -	4,000,000
Land and Malt, after deducting the land tax redeemed	- - -	2,060,000
		£. 32,208,833

“ And that a further sum of 454,340 *l.* arising from annuities which will expire at the periods undermentioned, viz.

In 1805	- -	£. 56,554
— 1806	- - -	8,152
— 1807	- -	15,515
— 1808	- -	374,119
		£. 454,340

will then also be applicable, as well as such sums as may from time to time arise from the savings on the interest of stocks which may be reduced to a lower rate, and which, supposing the whole of the stocks to be reduced to 3*l.* per cent. would amount to 1,491,893*l.* which sums are, exclusive of any allowance for the profit of a lottery, or for any participation of the territorial revenue in India.

The chancellor of the Exchequer having expressed a wish that the debate on his resolutions should be adjourned to Thursday, Mr. Tierney hoped

hoped there would be found little or no difference between the resolutions of the right hon. gentleman and himself; and therefore he saw no reason why the discussion should not be adjourned altogether. The resolutions would speak for themselves. If, however, a discussion was thought necessary, he wished it might be on Friday.

The chancellor of the Exchequer said, he was anxious that every gentleman should be in possession of the resolutions, in case the subject should be discussed; and most readily agreed that the day should be altered to Friday.

The debate was accordingly adjourned till Friday.

That a statement thus copious in financial communication should be of very considerable extent, is unavoidable. In its nature, however, it is so intimately connected with the official duties of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and is so calculated to satisfy Men of Business, that it was not to be omitted merely on account of its length. It is moreover obvious to suggest, that if examination of it has been an exercise of patience, the framing of it must have been infinitely laborious, and could have been the result only of deep research, accurate precision, and exact calculation.

Thursday, June 24.—As this country, in the
true

true spirit of humane benevolence, and christian charity, afforded an asylum to thousands of the French emigrants, it was an interesting event, that, on May 24, the French government passed an act in their favour. The effect of it is now visible; numerous bodies of French are taking their departure from this kingdom. The benefit of this act, though not universally, is yet widely extended; and the time given for claiming its indulgences is till the 23d of September, 1802.

Friday, June 25.—According to the order of the day, the debate on the Financial Resolutions, which Mr. Addington and Mr. Tierney had severally laid before the house, was now resumed.

Mr. Tierney said, he was merely desirous that his resolutions should be placed upon the journals, and that he was very indifferent whether this was done by their being negatived, or by the previous question moved upon them. He should not take up the time of the house with any remarks, as the difference between him and the right hon. gentleman was inconsiderable, and his chief object was to have his opinion recorded. He concluded by moving the first resolution.

The chancellor of the Exchequer said, he should trouble the house with very few observations upon

upon the resolutions moved by the hon. gentleman. Thus much, however, he would remark: in estimating the amount of the national debt, he thought the hon. gentleman was not justified in charging the valuation of the long annuities. He might as well have valued the short annuities; but neither of them could be justly considered as adding to the mass of the debt. The amount, by deducting this article, would be reduced two millions. In the 6th resolution the hon. gentleman had estimated the sum applicable to the reduction of the national debt too low. He ought to have included the dividends received during the last quarter by the commissioners, and the whole would then have amounted to 5,800,000*l*. In computing the produce of the permanent taxes, he ought certainly to have made an allowance for the sum paid away in corn bounties, and for the loss sustained by the stoppage of the distilleries. When that addition was made, the produce of the permanent taxes for the last year would be found to amount to 23,684,514*l*. being more than in 1799—the most flourishing year our revenues had ever known. He was satisfied that the country had ample means to bear all its burthens, and that we might confidently look forward to a long period

riod of national prosperity. As the hon. gentleman's resolutions differed so immaterially from his own, he did not feel it consistent with his duty to negative them. He therefore begged leave to move the previous question.

Mr. Tierney observed, his only reason for not valuing the short annuities was because he knew no way of valuing them. He surely was justified in including the long annuities, since the Legislature, in the sinking fund act, had considered them as a part of the national debt. In the way in which the right hon. gentleman had framed his resolution about the sinking fund, he was quite correct at stating it at 5,800,000*l*. but he himself had, as on former years, estimated it at what it was on the 2d of February preceding.

Mr. Nicholas Vansittart coincided in arguments and opinion with the chancellor of the Exchequer.

The chancellor of the Exchequer then rose to state the substance of his own resolutions. Though the hon. gentleman and himself, he said, agreed in form, yet with regard to the financial situation of the country, they differed widely in fact. He did not complain of what the hon. gentleman had inserted in his resolutions, but what he had omitted. His own attempt to supply the deficiency, had
been

been made with the view of effacing any false impression which might have been left on the public mind. He then read a paper, which, at great length, and with very particular minuteness, detailed the amount of taxes, the number of ships, the value of exports and imports, &c. &c. Having at last concluded this statement, he congratulated the house upon the happy situation in which the country stood. We were amply able to satisfy every demand that could be made upon us; we were able, and that too without much difficulty, even to bear new burthens, if it should be necessary to make fresh exertions in defence of our independence and our honour; but he thanked God! he anticipated no such necessity. When the country had flourished so much during war, what might not be expected from peace! In 1786, the sinking fund was to the national debt as 1 to 238, now it was as 1 to 84. When we had been discharging our incumbrances during war, how rapidly should we proceed in discharging them during peace?

The re-payment of the Imperial loan might soon be expected; and we might hereafter hope to share in the territorial revenues of India; and the interest of the four and five per cents. might be speedily reduced. He thought it was impossible

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to

to look forward with apprehension. He was happy to think that there was no great arrear to be paid off, as at former periods resembling the present. No minister had ever provided for the expences of a war like his predecessor. Besides, means had already been taken to wind up the public accounts, and so much had never been done before during the first year of peace.

Mr. Nicholas Vansittart said he thought he could easily prove that our commerce had nothing to fear from the return of peace. The war had not favoured it; it had flourished in spite of the war. Except to the captured islands, we enjoyed from the war no branch of trade; and that was not to be compared with those of which it deprived us. Our taxes must increase, because our consumption increased. Taking the average of the three years before the war, and the last three years, 700 ton of wine was used yearly during the latter period more than during the former; upwards of 400 millions of pounds of tea; and 933 cwt. of sugar. The capital lately employed in loans and contracts would now be turned to productive industry. During the eight years before the war, 750 acts passed for local improvement; and during the last 8 years, 1172. Peace would give a new energy to these exertions, and during

ing the present session more private business had actually been done than was ever before known. To shew that our commerce did not gain by the war, he should prove that the commerce of neutral nations had advanced still more rapidly.

The honourable gentleman here read a variety of papers, shewing the prodigious advances made of late years by the Swedes, the Danes, but above all by the Americans. If we were to suffer from the peace, it certainly would be immediately after its arrival; and indeed it had been said that our trade had experienced complete stagnation. But the truth was that our exports and imports, during the quarter ending the 5th of April, exceeded what they were in the corresponding quarter in the year 1801, always noted for its prosperity. During this quarter in 1801, the official value of exports was 5,105,000*l.*—the real value 7,400,000*l.* During the same quarter in this year, the official value of exports was 5,365,000*l.* and the real value 8,343,000*l.* an increase of nearly a million. The imports in the same proportion.

Sir F. Baring, as a mercantile man, begged leave to declare it, as his opinion, that our trade must suffer severely. There were many articles, such as coffee, which we imported to the value of many millions, in which our trade would now be

inconsiderable. There were others, such as tea, which we might retain by our own prudence, but which at present there was every prospect of our losing, from their being taxed to a degree which they were quite unable to bear.

The chancellor of the Exchequer said, he had heard the hon. baronet with concern and disappointment. Without any disrespect to him, he must flatly deny his position. Of the trade, which we now possessed, we should lose none, except that to the ceded islands; a trade, that produced scarcely any thing to the revenue, as our own colonies supplied our consumption of tea and sugar, and the produce of the rest was re-exported to foreign countries. He admitted that it was necessary to look with vigilance and caution to our tea trade. But the apprehension of our recurring to the measure adopted in 1784, would discourage smugglers from renewing their plans. Besides, it must require years before they can establish their depôts, while in a few days an act might pass to render all their schemes abortive, and to plunge them in irretrievable ruin.

The previous question was then carried, and the chancellor of the Exchequer's resolutions were put and carried: And properly so. For as the chancellor of the Exchequer had on several occasions

sions given evident proofs of his profound knowledge in all financial concerns however complex, and had shewn himself possessed of most perfect insight into all the arrangements and all the branches of that very material department; he was judged most competent to ascertain the solidity of that ground on which with confident assurance he formed his expectations.

It is more than probable, that before the next session of parliament, the improved state of our finances will demonstrate the chancellor of the Exchequer to have been far from sanguine, beyond what facts will justify.

Monday, June 28.—His Majesty went this day to the house of peers. The commons, with their speaker, attended.

The speaker, on presenting the “Consolidated Fund,” and other Bills, addressed His Majesty thus:

“*Most gracious Sovereign,*

“It is my duty to present to Your Majesty the bills for completing the supplies which your Majesty’s faithful commons have granted for the service of the year.

“With heartfelt gratitude, they acknowledge Your Majesty’s paternal goodness and wisdom,
which

which have already enabled them to make a large reduction of the public burthens, by the termination of a long and eventful war: a war just and necessary in its origin, conducted with energy, sustained with fortitude, signalized by triumphs surpassing the fame of our ancestors, and obtained in countries unvisited by their arms, and concluded at length by a peace, which has added new conquests to Your crown, and given repose and safety to these its ancient dominions, whose peers and commons have now, for the second year, the happiness of being assembled in one united parliament at the foot of Your throne.

“ Thus circumstanced, Your Majesty’s faithful commons not only look forward with a sanguine hope that they may not soon be called to the hard necessity of augmenting the public debt by future burthens; but they have deemed it their duty to look back to the debt already incurred: and with the same characteristic spirit, which first laid the foundation of an effectual system for the extinction of the national debt, they have proceeded to arrange and settle a plan for accelerating that extinction, by pledging the future application of their growing means to the accomplishment of the same great object.

“ At a time, when their attention has been directed

rected to these considerations, and when they have also found that taxes of unprecedented weight, though wisely imposed to meet the exigences of such a war, might nevertheless be now prudently repealed; it has given the highest satisfaction to Your Majesty's faithful commons, to relieve those pressing demands which the general difficulties of the times had cast upon the provision assigned by parliament for the support of Your Majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of your crown: for this country has not now to learn that its Monarchy is the best and strongest security for its liberties; and that the splendour of the Throne reflects lustre and dignity upon the whole nation.

"These, Sire, are amongst the memorable events of a session thus far protracted; upon which we reflect with a conscious satisfaction, that to the discharge of great duties we have brought proportionate exertions. And we now indulge the flattering hope, that we may safely apply ourselves to cultivate the arts of peace; arts long dear to Your Majesty, and congenial to the temper of Your people, whose spirit of enterprise in foreign commerce and internal improvement, unexampled in its exertions throughout the war, may now expand itself with redoubled activity;

and by providing new sources of strength and wealth for this country, fix the stability of our own power, and at the same time promote the common interests of Europe and of all the civilized nations of the world."

The royal assent having been given in the usual forms, to the bills presented,

His Majesty then delivered the following most gracious speech from the throne :

" My Lords, and Gentlemen,

" The public business being concluded, I think it proper to close this session of parliament.

" During a long and laborious attendance, you have invariably manifested the just sense you entertain of the great trust committed to your charge. The objects of your deliberations have been unusually numerous and important, and I derive the utmost satisfaction from the conviction, that the wisdom of your proceedings will be fully proved by their effects, in promoting the best interests of my people throughout every part of my dominions,

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The ample provision you have made for the
various

various branches of the public service, demands my warmest acknowledgments; and my particular thanks are due for the liberality which you have shewn in exonerating my civil government and household, from the debts with which they were unavoidably burthened.

“ Whilst I regret the amount of the supplies which circumstances have rendered necessary, it is a relief to me to contemplate the state of our manufactures, commerce, and revenue, which afford the most decisive and gratifying proofs of the abundance of our internal resources, and of the growing prosperity of the country.

“ *My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

“ As I think it expedient that the election of a new parliament should take place without delay, it is my intention forthwith to give directions for dissolving the present, and for calling a new parliament.

“ In communicating to you this intention, I cannot suppress those sentiments of entire approbation, with which I reflect upon every part of your conduct, since I first met you in this place. The unexampled difficulties of our situation, required the utmost efforts of that wisdom and fortitude,

titude, which you so eminently displayed in contending with them, and by which they have been so happily surmounted. From your judicious and salutary measures during the last year, my people derived all the relief which could be afforded under one of the severest dispensations of Providence. And it was by the spirit and determination which uniformly animated your councils, aided by the unprecedented exertions of my fleets and armies, and the zealous and cordial co-operation of my people, that I was enabled to prosecute with success, and terminate with honour, the long and arduous contest in which we have been engaged.

“ The same sense of public duty, the same solicitude for the welfare of your country, will now, in your individual characters, induce you to encourage by all the means in your power the cultivation and improvement of the advantages of peace.

“ My endeavours will never be wanting to preserve the blessings, by which we are so eminently distinguished, and to prove that the prosperity and happiness of all classes of my faithful subjects, are the objects which are always the nearest to my heart.”

After

After his Majesty had delivered his speech,
The lord chancellor came forward and addressed both houses to the following effect:

“ My Lords, and Gentlemen,

“ It is His Majesty’s royal will and pleasure that this parliament be prorogued until Tuesday, the 17th day of August next—and this parliament stands prorogued till the said 17th day of August accordingly.”

Thus is closed the sixth and last session of the present parliament, for choosing which, the general election was holden in 1796.

In the speaker’s address is a succinct retrospect, and a just comment on the political and financial measures of government: and in his Majesty’s speech appear strong indications of a mind, that having entered most deeply into public distress, and into various circumstances affecting his happiness, was now perfectly relieved from anxiety; and that adequately estimated those parliamentary proceedings, which had been instrumental in restoring to him satisfaction and comfort.

Tuesday, June 29.—On this day was signed and issued a proclamation, by which the parliament

ment then existing was dissolved, and another called.

This event in itself implies an epoch, and is the last proposed for mention in this work. The MEMOIRS are thus arrived at a point, where seasonably and properly they may at length terminate. Having therefore first expressed an earnest wish, that, in the ensuing choice of representatives, the civil qualification of elective suffrage may neither be perverted by corruption, nor exercised with factious views, nor impeded by tumultuary and violent outrage, repugnant to every idea, and destructive to the very existence of genuine liberty: having also conceived an ardent hope, that the new, like the late, parliament, will be circumspect and firm in preserving our constitution, so that it may be endangered neither by the subtleties of popular artifice, nor by the speculative theories of state-projectors; to such earnest wish and ardent hope for the New Parliament, we will add, as a corollary, this conclusion:

Few, indeed, in number are the months which have thus been engaging our attention; but, though they are few, they have yet been fruitful in events both numerous and interesting. Of these, the naval victory in the basin of Copenhagen,

hagen, which first led to the disruption of the Northern Confederacy; and the various conquests made by our army in Egypt, which liberated that province, and completely frustrated the schemes of deep policy conceived immediately against Turkey, but ultimately against our possessions in the East; will ever be memorable. They are also transactions from which will be imparted no inconsiderable share of praise to the present Minister; for, they are proofs incontestible of the promptitude and spirit, with which he gave effect to the preconcerted plans of operation by sea and land; and they are evident demonstrations of the activity, judgment, and vigour, with which he prosecuted the war, so long as war was advisable. The point, however, which above all others most forcibly attracts our notice; the object, on which we justly fix our thoughts with the most favourable regard; is that surprisingly rapid and most sensibly felt transition, from gloom to cheerfulness; from domestic pressure in supplying national exigences, to comparative relief; from public apprehensions, to general security; from that solicitude inseparably attached to war, a solicitude for friends and relations, for armies and fleets, for colonies and native country, to the felicity inspired by a consciousness of safety and uninterrupted

interrupted enjoyment during a state of peace. That, under the blessing of ALMIGHTY GOD! this change which we have experienced in our families, in our communities, in our kingdoms, has been effected in the administration of Mr. Addington, cannot possibly be denied. Let this fact be duly weighed. Let it then be considered, that if the character of every man is best known by his words and actions tried, proved, and experienced through a period of arduous difficulties; the language and conduct of Mr. Addington, here compendiously recorded, through the first fifteen months of his administration, will shew **WHETHER HE BE; OR BE NOT;** endowed with the most laudable and most eminent of those talents, which constitute such a statesman as Britons will applaud so long as they value intellect, sagacity, fortitude, perseverance, condescension, integrity, truly **BRITISH PRINCIPLES** in government, discretion in knowing where to make concession, and firmness in maintaining what conviction demonstrates cannot be yielded with safety. And since to the inquiry, **WHETHER HE BE? OR BE NOT?** a statesman of that description, it will not be consistent either with truth of facts, or with candour of judgment, to answer in the negative; or to say that his talents have not been
5 assiduously

assiduously and beneficially exerted for PUBLIC GOOD; it is an evident consequence, that as services conferred indisputably demand of us a proper return, Mr. Addington is entitled to NATIONAL ESTEEM.

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abundantly and cheerfully exerted for the
good & it is an evident consequence, that as in-
vices continued & industriously demand - of us a
proper return, Mr. Addington is enabled to
NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT.

FINIS.

John H. H. H. H.
John H. H. H. H.

**Buchbinder-Lehrwerkstätte
Nikolausheim
Dürrenlingen bei Gänzburg**

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